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Order of Contents as Evidence of
Authorship: Rochester's *Poems* of 1680¹

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I

THIS paper, as its title implies, explores a method. It discusses an example which shows how the arrangement of contents in a printed book or manuscript volume may indirectly provide evidence leading to significant conclusions. The example chosen is the earliest printed collection of the poems of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester. First published shortly after Rochester's death in 1680, this collection quickly passed through at least ten interdependent editions, each giving the same sixty-one poems in the same order. Each of these editions attributes all its poems to Rochester, even though many of them were certainly written by other authors.

Previous studies of the 1680 editions have included a book by James Thorpe, an article by William B. Todd, and a paper which I read before the Modern Language Association at its meeting in 1954 and subsequently published as an article.² These studies have estab-

¹ Read before the Modern Language Association on 27 Dec. 1959. For helpful criticisms during its preparation I am grateful to Mr. James M. Osborn.

² James Thorpe, *Rochester's Poems on Several Occasions* (1950); William B. Todd, "The 1680 Editions of Rochester's *Poems*: With Notes on Earlier Texts," *PBSA* XLVII (1953), 43-58; David M. Vieth, "The Text of Rochester and the Editions of 1680," *PBSA* L (1956), 243-63, hereafter called "Text of Rochester." Bibliographical descriptions of the 1680 editions, as well as a facsimile reproduction of the Huntington edition, are provided in Thorpe's volume, to which Todd's article and my own stand as supplements.

lished the internal relationships among the ten editions and have identified the so-called Huntington edition as the first. Their concentration on questions of priority among the editions has, nevertheless, tended to obscure the far more pressing problems of authenticity raised by the sixty-one poems printed there. These problems of authorship are important partly because the collection of 1680, in addition to its spurious matter, contains the heart of the Rochester canon. The full scope of the problems can be appreciated, however, only by realizing that the 1680 editions served as ultimate sources for numerous texts and attributions in almost all the approximately forty other reprintings of Rochester's works during the century following his death. Thus the solution of these problems of authorship is a necessary first step in any systematic attempt to establish the Rochester canon, which has hitherto remained one of the most puzzling areas of inquiry in English literary scholarship.

This paper proposes to show that the order occupied by the sixty-one poems in the 1680 editions is an indispensable key to their authenticity. Lack of space will, of course, prevent presentation of the bulk of my evidence, which includes ascriptions in hundreds of early manuscript copies of the sixty-one poems.³ Such ascriptions, though not infallible, are generally more reliable than attributions in contemporary printed texts. This evidence will be presented in detail in a book on Rochester to be completed during the current academic year with the assistance of a grant from the American Philosophical Society.

II

Before the significance of the order of the sixty-one poems can be explored, it is necessary to summarize several points which were covered more fully in my earlier article, and to draw from them some further conclusions. These points all involve a Restoration manuscript miscellany, now in the Yale University Library and previously designated as the Yale MS.⁴

The Yale MS. is a bound quarto volume transcribed in two late seventeenth-century hands. Though the manuscript is unfortunately

³ A small portion of this additional evidence is cited in subsequent footnotes.

⁴ For a more detailed description of the Yale MS., see "Text of Rochester," pp. 245-46.

marred by seven gaps where leaves have been cut out,⁵ a glance at the second and third columns in the table on pages 303-308 will reveal that the extant portion in the first hand is unmistakably related in some fashion to the 1680 editions. It gives the same poems in the same order except that it includes eleven additional poems, omits one poem, and exhibits three small differences in arrangement.⁶ Textual evidence, as well as evidence of other kinds, shows that the Yale MS. bears a collateral relationship to the Huntington edition, both being descended independently from a no longer extant archetype.⁷ Consequently, in order to evaluate the arrangement and ascriptions of the Yale MS. and the Huntington edition, we must try to discover which of these two extant texts better represents the ascriptions and arrangement of the lost manuscript which served as their ultimate common source.

All available evidence indicates that the ascriptions given by the archetype are more accurately preserved in the Yale MS. The 1680 editions, as is well known, attribute genuine and spurious poems to Rochester indiscriminately. The Yale MS., by contrast, is more reliable in its ascriptions than most Restoration manuscript miscellanies, and in no case is there reason to suspect that it was influenced by the false attributions of the printed editions. Of the twenty-three ascriptions given explicitly in the Yale MS., all but two are supported by other contemporary evidence, especially by ascriptions in early copies of the poems which textual collation suggests are descended neither from the Yale MS. nor from the printed editions. Moreover, only two of these twenty-three ascriptions are probably incorrect, and one of these two—for poem number 62—was evidently distrusted by the scribe himself.⁸ Thus the ascriptions in the Yale MS., unlike those of the 1680 editions, possess some standing and may, indeed, be virtually identical with those of the archetype. Possibly, too, they correspond to the ascriptions given in the lost copy-text of the Huntington edi-

⁵ "Text of Rochester," p. 245 *n.* 5.

⁶ These differences in contents and arrangement, all of which are shown in the following table, are listed in "Text of Rochester," p. 246 *n.* 6.

⁷ "Text of Rochester," pp. 245, 246-47, 248-51, 259, 262-63.

⁸ Documentation of these conclusions, which is too extensive to include in an article, will be presented in my forthcoming book on Rochester.

tion; the printer, of course, omitted any external indications that certain poems were not Rochester's.

The following tentative conclusion can therefore be formulated: *If the Yale MS. ascribes a poem to some author other than Rochester, then an attribution to Rochester in the 1680 editions, or in sources descended from the 1680 editions, constitutes no evidence whatever that Rochester wrote the poem.* This conclusion would remove the last remaining arguments supporting the authenticity of nine poems which students of Rochester have already viewed as doubtful. These poems are numbers 44 through 46, which are three satires on Edward Howard; numbers 49 and 50, which are by Aphra Behn; numbers 56, 57, and 59, by John Oldham; and number 68, by Alexander Radcliffe. Similarly discredited is all external evidence that Rochester wrote poem number 52, the much-discussed "A Session of the Poets." For poem number 51, usually known as "Timon," all printed attributions to Rochester are disqualified, since the Yale MS. assigns this satire to Sedley; Rochester's authorship is rendered probable, however, by evidence which lies outside the scope of this paper. More striking, perhaps, is the case of poem number 37, which has been universally accepted as Rochester's and has, indeed, been praised as one of his finest lyrics. The evidence supporting Rochester's authorship is limited, however, to the 1680 editions and sources descended from them, whereas the Yale MS. assigns the poem to one of Rochester's archenemies, Sir Carr Scroope. Apparently this song is by Scroope, while the immediately following poem, as we shall see, is probably Rochester's obscene burlesque of Scroope's lyric.

In places where the Yale MS. and the 1680 editions differ in their contents or arrangement, all known evidence indicates that again the Yale MS. preserves the features of the archetype. This conclusion rests on what I have termed, in my earlier article, "linked groups" of poems.⁹ Such "linked groups" consist of poems which were gathered into manuscript pamphlets or loose sheets and passed from hand to hand in this form before being copied into manuscript miscellanies and commonplace books. Their existence is attested by surviving examples, as well as by the fact that groups of two to five poems often

⁹ Most of this paragraph is a condensation of "Text of Rochester," pp. 249-51.

appear linked in the same order in several larger manuscript volumes. Four such "linked groups," which are shown in the table on pages 303-308 by double vertical lines, occur in places where the Yale MS. and the 1680 editions exhibit differences in contents or arrangement, and in all four instances the Yale MS. apparently preserves the grouping in its original state. This result suggests that in the remaining cases where such differences occur, the order and contents of the archetype are represented by the Yale MS. Since the last poem in the editions, number 72, does not appear in corresponding position in the Yale MS., it probably was not included in the archetype, and it therefore presents an entirely separate problem of authenticity. The evidence fails to indicate whether Rochester wrote it.

A further point is raised by the seven gaps in the Yale MS. where leaves have been cut out. Since the Yale MS. and the 1680 editions are so closely similar in contents and arrangement, it is tempting to suppose that the poems removed by the gaps were those which presently occupy the corresponding portions of the editions—except, of course, for the seventh gap, which involves a poem not included in the editions. For the other gaps, the corresponding poems in the 1680 editions supply approximately the right amount of text, and in each case one or more of these poems is unusually obscene, which would explain the motive for their excision from the manuscript.

This assumption could remain only tentative, however, were it not for a peculiarity of the first hand in the Yale MS. The scribe, whose hand is very neat and regular, ordinarily writes exactly sixteen lines on a page, or the equivalent of sixteen lines where provision must be made for titles or spaces between stanzas. Thus a simple process of counting lines can determine whether the gaps in the Yale MS. will accommodate the corresponding portions of text in the editions.

This test suggests that for five of the seven gaps, the contents of the Yale MS. were as conjectured. Indeed, the first three gaps almost certainly did not remove any poem in its entirety. Similarly, the seventh gap probably removed only the missing parts of poems number 47 and 48, though it is barely possible that a single short poem intervened between these two. The sixth gap would be filled exactly by the missing parts of poems number 38 through 43. The probability that

these poems occupied the sixth gap is increased because poem number 43, whose concluding lines are still extant in the Yale MS., is the last of a "linked group" of four poems.

It is apparent, however, that the contents of the fourth and fifth gaps were not identical with the corresponding portions of the 1680 editions, for in both cases the gaps are too large. An explanation of this discrepancy is suggested by the fact that elsewhere in its text, the Yale MS. gives a total of eleven poems which are lacking in the editions. Thus the fourth and fifth gaps may have contained the corresponding poems in the editions together with some extra pieces. The fourth gap would have included poems number 17 through 22 and about seven more pages of text. The fifth gap is more complicated because it involves a difference in arrangement between the Yale MS. and the 1680 editions, but the presence of a "linked group" at this point indicates the probable order of both the Yale MS. and the archetype. The fifth gap, then, would seem to have contained the missing parts of poems number 34 through 36 and all of one additional short poem.

On the basis of these foregoing conclusions, the poems have been listed in the first column in the table which follows, in the order they presumably occupied in the archetype.

III

It is a paradox that although their attributions are unreliable, the 1680 editions are descended from an archetype whose poems were arranged in a careful, intricate order determined largely by their authorship. The only Rochester scholar who has sensed the meaning of this order is Thorpe, who noted that the contents of the 1680 editions might be divided into two groups, a section of thirty-three poems which are mostly by Rochester, followed by a section of twenty-eight poems which are mostly by other authors (pp. xxx-xxxi). The principles on which the archetype was organized can, however, be further clarified. Briefly, the first of the two major sections of the collection consists entirely of poems which the scribe evidently thought were written by Rochester or concerned Rochester in some way—that is, satires on him, poems which he answered, or poems written in answer to his. The second major section consists entirely of poems which the

scribe evidently thought were written by miscellaneous authors other than Rochester.

Before these two sections can be discussed in detail, it is important to determine the point of division between them, which Thorpe may have located several poems too early. One method for establishing this point is provided by the fact that the section of poems by or concerning Rochester is further divided into two subsections. The first subsection, consisting of what might loosely be termed satires and translations, ends with poem number 15. The second subsection, consisting entirely of songs, includes poems number 16 through 38. The next few poems are clearly not songs; poem number 39, for example, is a burlesque in pentameter couplets of the manner of the heroic drama. It is reasonable to suppose that the end of the subsection of songs is also the end of the section of poems by or concerning Rochester, which would place the point of division between poems number 38 and 39.

This conclusion is supported by evidence of authorship supplied in other contemporary sources for the poems surrounding the point of division. Poem number 35, which Thorpe chose as the end of the first section, is the last of a "linked group" of four songs; this group appears in another early manuscript miscellany with all four poems ascribed to Rochester, and there is no reason to doubt the authenticity of any one of them.¹⁰ Poem number 36 is unquestionably a satire on Rochester written by Thomas D'Urfey.¹¹ Though the fifth gap in the Yale MS. causes a complication, poems number 37 and 38, which immediately follow the gap, would fit logically into the first section as a song by Scroope which Rochester burlesqued, together with the burlesque itself. At this point we enter quite different territory, for various contemporary sources assign all of the next dozen poems to authors other than Rochester.¹² Indeed, poems number 39 through 46 may have been located together because of their connection with Buckhurst.

In the section of poems by or concerning Rochester, nine poems are

¹⁰ Harvard MS. Eng. 636F, pp. 66-70.

¹¹ The poem alludes to Rochester's part in the notorious brawl at Epsom in June 1676, and it was claimed by D'Urfey in his authoritative *A New Collection of Songs and Poems*. By *Thomas D'urfey* (1683), p. 3.

¹² Documentation of this statement will be provided in my forthcoming book.

probably not authentic because they are satires on Rochester, poems which he answered, or poems written in answer to his. Poems number 36 and 37 have already been mentioned. Poem number 3, which is omitted from the 1680 editions, is an answer to number 2, Rochester's "A Satyr against Mankind." Poem number 9, as Thorpe has shown (p. 174), is a satire on Rochester by an unknown author. Poems number 10 through 13 are a "linked group" of four satires involved in Rochester's poetical quarrel with Sir Carr Scroope; the first and third poems are by Rochester, while the second and fourth are Scroope's rejoinders. Poem number 25, which is an answer to number 24, may have been composed by Rochester's wife, since a manuscript draft in the process of revision survives in her handwriting.¹³ The Yale MS. unfortunately gives no ascription for this lyric.

Two other songs may be light-hearted lampoons on Rochester written by his cronies. Poem number 21, which is not extant in the Yale MS., depicts a typical day in the life of a Restoration rake such as Rochester. A contemporary anecdote, found in a letter dated from London early in 1673, describes how these verses were written as a satire on Rochester by his friend Buckhurst.¹⁴ Poem number 17, also not extant in the Yale MS., is unlike Rochester's style, and it satirizes the sexual prowess of a person named Strephon, which was a pastoral pseudonym commonly applied to Rochester. Though one early manuscript assigns this song to Rochester, another ascribes it more plausibly to Sedley.¹⁵

There is no real reason to doubt Rochester's authorship of the other twenty-nine poems in the first half of the collection. Evidently the scribe of the archetype thought they were Rochester's, and this conclusion clarifies and strengthens the case for their authenticity. Such additional evidence, to be sure, is scarcely required to prove that Rochester wrote poem number 2, "A Satyr against Mankind," or number 15, "Upon Nothing." Nevertheless, roughly half of the twenty-

¹³ This draft is printed in Vivian de Sola Pinto, *Poems by John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester* (1953), pp. 172-73.

¹⁴ For this information I am indebted to Miss Lucyle Hook, who will present it more fully in an article in *Modern Language Notes*.

¹⁵ Ascribed to Rochester in Harvard MS. Eng. 636F, p. 10, and to Sedley in Bodl. MS. Don. b.8, p. 586.

nine poems, especially the songs, have hitherto been assigned to Rochester on very flimsy evidence. The organization of the collection furnishes a much-needed warrant that they are probably genuine.

In the section of poems by miscellaneous authors, a question is raised by the presence of five satires which may have been written by Rochester. The probable explanation for this anomaly is that the scribe of the archetype did not *know* the five satires might be Rochester's. Four of the five poems, number 55, 64, 65, and 66, appear in the Yale MS. without ascription, while the fifth, number 51, is there ascribed to Sedley. Moreover, four of the satires continue to pose problems of authorship even today, so that the scribe's ignorance is understandable. Evidently the scribe did not intend to attribute to Rochester any poems in the second half of his collection. These arguments allow the formulation of another conclusion: *If a poem appears in the section of poems by miscellaneous authors, then an attribution to Rochester in the 1680 editions, or in sources descended from the 1680 editions, constitutes no evidence whatever that Rochester wrote it.* Thus, of the five satires, four which are printed in the editions can be assigned to Rochester only if other strong evidence is found.

This conclusion also disqualifies all remaining support for the authenticity of eight more poems whose authorship has been disputed. Poem number 39 is ascribed in another early manuscript to Buckhurst.¹⁶ Poems number 40 through 43, a "linked group" of four verse epistles purportedly exchanged by Buckhurst and Etherege, were almost certainly composed by those two poets, as is shown by ascriptions accompanying the group in two other early manuscripts.¹⁷ There is no longer any reason to suppose that Rochester wrote poem number 54. Poem number 60 is by Alexander Radcliffe, and number 63 may be the work of Etherege. Moreover, virtually all remaining evidence of Rochester's authorship is disqualified for poem number 48, which is the first of three poems by Aphra Behn.

The method outlined in this paper is not, of course, limited in its usefulness to the Rochester editions of 1680. For example, it can be

¹⁶ All Souls College, Oxford, MS. Codrington 174.

¹⁷ Harvard MS. Eng. 636F, pp. 99-114; University of Edinburgh MS. DC.1.3, pp.

profitably applied to later Rochester editions, notably those published in 1691 by Jacob Tonson and in 1707 by Benjamin Bragge. Similar methods might well prove valuable in solving problems raised by the early texts of other poets.

Table

The following table compares the contents, arrangement, and ascriptions of the Yale MS. and the Rochester editions of 1680. The first column lists, by first lines, all poems appearing in these sources. The poems are listed and numbered in the presumptive order of the archetype.

The second column lists, in the order they occupy there, the poems in the 1680 editions. The presence of a poem in the editions is signified by its number in appropriate position. Since the editions assign all of their sixty-one poems to Rochester, individual attributions have not been indicated.

The third column lists, in the order they occupy there, the poems in the Yale MS. (first hand only). Poems included in the Yale MS. are signified by a note of the ascription given in the manuscript, or of the fact that the manuscript gives no explicit sign of authorship, or of the portion of the poem still extant in the manuscript. The seven gaps where leaves have been cut out are indicated to the left of this column. Poems marked "text not extant" are not actually present in the manuscript but presumably appeared on the excised pages. Ascriptions in the Yale MS. occur at the beginning of a poem.

The fourth column specifies conclusions about the authorship of the poems. These conclusions are based on considerable evidence in addition to that presented in this article.

To the left of the first column, double vertical lines indicate the four "linked groups" of poems which occur in places where the Yale MS. and the 1680 editions differ in their contents or arrangement. Also shown are the principal points of division in the archetype: (1) between the section of poems by or concerning Rochester and the section of poems by miscellaneous authors, and (2) between the subsection of satires and translations and the subsection of songs.

First Lines	1680 Editions	Yale MS.	Author
(1) Dear friend I hear this town does so abound	(1)	Rochester	Rochester
(2) Were I who to my cost already am	(2)	Rochester	Rochester
(3) Were I to choose what sort of shape I'd wear	Not included	No ascription	Griffith or Pocock (answer to (2))
(4) Much wine had pass'd with grave discourse	(4)	Rochester (title and first 13 lines extant) 1st Gap	Rochester
(5) Cloe by your command in verse I write	(5)	Rochester	Rochester
(6) Naked she lay clasp'd in my longing arms	(6)	Rochester (title and first 12 lines extant) 2d Gap	Rochester
(7) O love how cold and slow to take my part	(7)	Rochester	Rochester
(8) As some brave admiral in former war	(8)	Rochester	Rochester
(9) Say heav'n-born muse for only thou canst tell	(9)	No ascription (title and first 8 lines extant) 3d Gap	Unknown (satire on Rochester)
(10) Well sir 'tis granted I said Dryden's rhymes	(10)	All extant except title and first 4 lines	Rochester
(11) When Shakespeare Jonson Fletcher rul'd the stage	(11)	No ascription	Sir Carr Scroope (answer to (10))
(12) To rack and torture thy unmeaning brain	(12)	No ascription	Rochester

Linked Group

First Lines	1680 Editions	Yale MS.	Author
(13) Rail on poor feeble scribbler speak of me	(13)	No ascription	Sir Carr Scroope (answer to (12))
(14) After death nothing is and nothing death	(14)	No ascription	Rochester
(15) Nothing thou elder brother ev'n to shade	(15)	No ascription	Rochester
(16) 'Tis not that I am weary grown	(16)	No ascription	Probably Rochester
(17) In the fields of Lincoln's Inn	(17)	Text not extant	Probably Sedley (satire on Rochester)
(18) Vulcan contrive me such a cup	(18)	Text not extant	Probably Rochester
(19) As Chloris full of harmless thoughts	(19)	Text not extant	Probably Rochester
(20) Quoth the Duchess of Cleveland to Mrs. Knight	(20)	Text not extant	Probably Rochester
(21) I rise at eleven I dine about two	(21)	Text not extant	Probably Buckhurst (satire on Rochester)
(22) Love a woman you're an ass	(22)	Text not extant	Probably Rochester
(23) Fair Chloris in a pigsty lay	(23)	No ascription	Probably Rochester

4th Gap

[Probably several more songs were removed by this gap.]

First Lines	1680 Editions	Yale MS.	Author
(24) Give me leave to rail at you	(24)	No ascription	Probably Rochester
(25) Nothing adds to your fond fire	(25)	No ascription	Rochester or his wife (answer to (24))
(26) Phyllis be gentler I advise	(26)	No ascription	Rochester
(27) What cruel pains Corinna takes	(27)	No ascription	Probably Rochester
(28) Love bade me hope and I obey'd	(28)	No ascription	Probably Rochester
(29) To this moment a rebel I throw down my arms	(29)	No ascription	Probably Rochester
(30) How happy Chloris were they free	(30)	No ascription	Rochester
(31) All my past life is mine no more	(31)	No ascription	Rochester
(32) How blest was the created state	(32)	No ascription	Probably Rochester
(33) While on those lovely looks I gaze	(33)	No ascription	Probably Rochester
(34) Against the charms our ballocks have	See below	No ascription (title and first 4 lines extant)	Probably Rochester
(35) By all love's soft yet mighty pow'rs	(35)	Text not extant	Probably Rochester

Linked Group

First Lines	1680 Editions	Yale MS.	Author
(36) Room room for a blade of the town	(36)	Text not extant	Thomas D'Urfey (satire on Rochester)
(37) I cannot change as others do	(37)	[Probably one more song was removed by this gap.] Sir Carr Scroope	Probably Sir Carr Scroope (burlesqued in (38))
(38) I swive as well as others do	(38)	No ascription (title and first 4 lines extant)	Probably Rochester
(39) For standing tares we kind nature thank	(39)	Text not extant	Probably Buckhurst
(40) Dreaming last night on Mrs. Farley	(40)	Text not extant	Buckhurst
(41) As crafty harlots use to shrink	(41)	Text not extant	Etherege
(42) If I can guess the devil choke me	(42)	Text not extant	Buckhurst
(43) So soft and am'rously you write	(43)	Last 6 lines extant	Etherege
(44) Come on ye critics find one fault who dare	(44)	Buckhurst	Buckhurst
(45) Thou damn'd antipodes to common sense	See below	Henry Savile	Possibly Henry Savile, Buckhurst, or Wycherley
(46) As when a bully draws his sword	(46)	Edmund Ashton	Edmund Ashton
(45)	(45)		

Section of poems by or concerning Rochester and subsection of songs

Section of poems by authors other than Rochester

Linked Group

First Lines	1680 Editions	Yale MS.	Author
(47) Since now my Sylvia is as kind as fair	Not included	Mulgrave (title and first 12 lines extant)	Mulgrave
(48) One day the am'rous Lysander	(48)	Last 10 lines extant Gap	Aphra Behn
(49) Whilst happy I triumphant stood	(49)	Aphra Behn	Aphra Behn
(50) What doleful cries are these that fright my sense	(50)	Aphra Behn	Aphra Behn
(51) What Timon does old age begin t' approach	(54)	Sedley	Probably Rochester
(52) Since the sons of the muses grew num'rous and loud	(52)	"Suppos'd to be written by Elk: Settle"	Possibly Settle
(53) Under this stone does lie	Not included	No ascription	Buckingham
(54) Have you seen the raging stormy main	See above	No ascription	Unknown
(55) At five this morn when Phoebus rais'd his head	Not included	No ascription	Rochester
(56) Now curses on ye all ye virtuous fools	(56)	Oldham	Oldham
(57) My part is done and you'll I hope excuse	(57)	Oldham	Oldham
(58) No she shall ne'er escape if gods there be	Not included	Oldham	Oldham
(59) Tell me abandon'd miscreant prithee tell	(59)	Oldham	Oldham

First Lines	1680 Editions	Yale MS.	Author
(60) Rat too rat too rat too rat too rat too	(60)	No ascription	Alexander Radcliffe
(61) All human things are subject to decay	Not included	Dryden	Dryden
(62) A sad mischance I sing alas	Not included	"Suppos'd to be Written by M ^r Shadwell"	Unknown
(63) How far are they deceiv'd who hope in vain	(63)	No ascription	Possibly Etherege
(64) If you're deceiv'd it is not by my cheat	(64)	No ascription	Probably Rochester
(65) Crush'd by that just contempt his follies bring	(65)	No ascription	Probably Rochester
(66) Bursting with pride the loath'd impostume swells	(66)	No ascription	Probably Rochester
(67) Thou common shore of this poetic town	Not included	No ascription	Possibly Buckingham
(68) Whilst duns were knocking at my door	(68)	Alexander Radcliffe	Alexander Radcliffe
(69) I sing the praise of a worthy wight	Not included	No ascription	Unknown
(70) From a proud sensual atheistical life	Not included	No ascription	Unknown
(71) As Colin drove his sheep along	Not included	No ascription	Possibly Buckhurst
(72) If Rome can pardon sins as Romans hold	(72)	Not included	Possibly Rochester

Linked Group

Section of poems
by authors other
than Rochester

Probably
not in
archetype

The Ephraim George Squier Manuscripts in the Library of Congress: A Checklist

By JERRY E. PATTERSON AND WILLIAM R. STANTON

THE posthumous career of Ephraim George Squier (1821-88) has been largely confined to footnotes. With brief astonishment the historian of diplomacy notes the success of the young chargé d'affaires in concluding a treaty with Nicaragua which, by vigorously twisting the Lion's tail, brought the United States uncomfortably close to war with England. Or the chronicler of fashionable society may dust the cobwebs from the yellowed records of Squier's scandalous marriage. He deserves better of the historian.¹

A man of many parts and universal interests, Squier represented a type that was rapidly nearing extinction in mid-nineteenth-century America. An intellectual descendant of the great figures who attended the birth of the Republic, he struggled to uphold standards set by Jefferson, Franklin, Rush, and lesser lights, whose own wide-ranging minds had drawn sustenance from the Age of Reason. Yet Squier was the creature of his own age as well and sought fame and fortune as assiduously as the most ardent of his contemporaries. He was successively poet (not a very good one), newspaperman (with firm command of the style of pompous indignation much admired among political polemicists of the day), legislative clerk of the Ohio House of Representatives (an office unsought but nonetheless accepted, like other good things that came to him, as no more than his due), archaeologist and popularizer of the American past, diplomat, railroad promoter, and writer of travel books. Having at length achieved a meas-

¹ For biographical information on Squier, see the article by Mary Wilhelmine Williams in *Dictionary of American Biography* xvii (New York, 1946); Samuel Austin Allibone: *Critical Dictionary of English Literature* (Philadelphia, 1870), II, 2215-16; Evert A. Duyckinck: *Cyclopedia of American Literature* (New York, 1856), 695-97; Justin Winsor: *Narrative and Critical History of America* (Boston, 1884-89), I, 271-72. The most complete bibliography is Frank Squier: *A Collection of Books by Ephraim George Squier* (New York, 1939), but see also Joseph Sabin et al.: *Bibliotheca Americana. A Dictionary of Books Relating to America* xxiii (New York, 1932-33), and Rafael Heliodoro Valle: "E. George Squier, Notas Bio-Bibliográficas," *Hispanic American Historical Review* I (1918), 426-34.

ure of renown, he became a *bon vivant*, too, and again demonstrated both enthusiasm and competence.

On reaching the age of twenty-one Squier left behind his small town boyhood in upper New York State and set out for Ohio. There he almost immediately became interested in the Indian Mounds, which had long been fertile ground for speculation among naturalists. With financial assistance from the learned societies of the East and the enthusiastic encouragement of old Albert Gallatin, he and Dr. Edwin Davis (a Chillicothe physician) began to explore and excavate the mounds. When the volume of their findings outgrew the enthusiasm of Gallatin to finance their publication, Squier, armed with letters of introduction from the savants of Boston, New Haven, and Philadelphia, approached the Secretary of the Smithsonian, Joseph Henry. After a bitter exchange with Davis, who complained that undue proportion of the credit for their joint researches was accruing to Squier, and a cluster of disagreements with Henry (understandably anxious to see the Smithsonian properly launched), Squier saw the book published in 1848 as *Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley*, Volume One of the Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge. It was the Smithsonian's first venture in publishing and one in which it could and did take pride.

The book had an influence far beyond establishing Squier as the first authoritative voice in American archaeology and launching the Smithsonian upon its career in the publication of scientific works. In his attempt to formulate a chronology for the mounds, Squier came to the conclusion that they were far older than hitherto supposed and intimated that their builders were a race indigenous to America. Here was a book to warm the patriotic heart. Now Americans could fling the phrase "New World" back into the teeth of Europe. Many reviewers of *Ancient Monuments* did. But not only was the book important in stoking the fires of nationalism; it also exerted an influence upon contemporary anthropology, for it served to document the conclusions of a group of investigators known as the "American School" of anthropologists. Squier's researches won him the friendship of the recognized leader of the group, Dr. Samuel George Morton of Philadelphia. Morton's investigations into craniology had led him to conclude

that the Indian had been created in and for America—that, indeed, all the races of men, far from being molded by their environments, had been created specifically *for* them. Squier's friendship with Morton brought him into correspondence with the other members of the American School: the frenetic George R. Gliddon, whose popular lectures on Egyptology created the fad for things Egyptian that in the decade of the forties influenced Americans' concept of historical time, their architecture, their women's fashions, and greatly increased the length of the American traveler's Grand Tour; the eminent Southern physician, Josiah Clark Nott; and America's foremost naturalist, Louis Agassiz. He established correspondence with all of them, and it should be noted that the largest groups of extant letters by Morton, Gliddon, and Nott appear in the Squier Papers in the Library of Congress. The many letters from Charles Eliot Norton stem from the lifelong friendship that developed when Norton gave *Ancient Monuments* a long and laudatory notice in the *North American Review*.

The doctrines of the American School provoked a war among American zoologists in which Morton and Agassiz, with the aid of *Ancient Monuments*, succeeded in converting a surprising number to the theory of multiple creations. Taken up by interested Southerners, conclusions drawn from Squier's evidence offered a scientific argument in defense of slavery. It should be noted, though, that Squier himself had no sympathy whatever for the "peculiar institution" and declined an editorial position in Baltimore because he refused to live where there were slaves.

After publishing a similar—though less extensive—survey of the Indian monuments of New York State, Squier got himself appointed chargé d'affaires to Central America in order that he might further pursue his archaeological investigations. His interest in the region had evidently been stimulated by conversations with the Providence bookman John Russell Bartlett, co-founder with Gallatin of the American Ethnological Society and leader in 1850-52 of the Mexican Boundary Commission, and John Lloyd Stephens, America's great travel writer of the day and, like Squier, a sometime diplomat. This marked the beginning of Squier's lifelong interest in the region, an interest which was still glowing brightly even after his hopes for

the establishment of American hegemony in Central America had been crushed, after his great scheme for an Isthmian railway had collapsed, and after his studies of the area had been coming from the presses for thirty years. During the Civil War, President Lincoln dispatched Squier to settle a financial dispute with Peru, a commission which provided further opportunity for archaeological research.²

He interpreted the war in the pages of *Leslie's Weekly* for his good friend and boarder Frank Leslie. Then when Leslie's attentions to Mrs. Squier wrecked both the friendship and marriage, Squier began to lose his mental grip. In 1874 he was declared insane. He lived on in a twilight world until 1888, returning to the full light of reason at least twice, once with the aid of his brother Frank to publish a book on Peru, again to publish a blistering attack on the diversified marital career of the now Mrs. Leslie.

The very bulk of Squier's correspondence is astonishing, for the letters in the Library of Congress, numerous as they are, actually constitute only about half of the correspondence extant. Its range is no less surprising. This particular collection is valuable not only for the documentation it provides for Squier's own career, but also for the light it throws on the contemporary state of anthropology, ethnology, and archaeology in America, the tortuous course of United States relations with Latin American nations, and the heroic struggles of various groups of entrepreneurs, engineers, and admitted adventurers to construct some form of transportation across the Isthmus.³

The Library of Congress acquired the larger portion of these papers in 1905 as a gift from Squier's brother Frank. In 1949 a second group was added. The checklist which follows is based on the three categories of Squier materials in the Library: the Squier Papers, the Honduras Papers (principally though not exclusively relating to his

² On Squier's diplomatic career in Central America see his dispatches in William R. Manning (ed.): *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States: Inter-American Affairs, 1831-1860* (Washington, 1932-39), vols. III and IV; Adelaide R. Hasse: *Index to United States Documents Relating to Foreign Affairs: 1828-1860* (Washington, 1914-21); Hubert Howe Bancroft: *History of Central America* (San Francisco, 1887), III, 262-63 and *passim*; and Hunter Miller: *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America, 1776-1873* (Washington, 1931-48), V, 656-57, 661-63, 998-99.

³ Other collections of Squier materials are described in the *Huntington Library Bulletin* I (1931), 76-77, and *Survey of the Manuscript Collections in the New-York Historical Society* (1941).

Central American affairs), and materials relating to Squier in other manuscript collections in the Library.

Squier Papers

Manuscripts:

1. "Review of Parties in Guatemala. Translated from *El Progreso* of San Salvador." n.d. 29 pp.
2. Santa Anna [Description of a department of San Salvador]. 5 pp.
3. [Extracts from authors on Indians, languages, description of Central America, etc.] About 250 pp.
4. Political history of Nicaragua. 20 pp.
5. [MSS. of Chapters 1-10 of Squier's book on Nicaragua.] 100 pp.
6. [Journal of Travels.] n.d. 40 pp.
7. Plates for Squier and Davis: *Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley*. 50 pp.
8. [Notes, drafts, MSS. of this work.] About 500 pp.
9. [Extracts from various authors on South America, New York archaeology, Mexico, historical writers, "the volcanoes of the cordilleras of Mexico," etc.] About 300 pp.
10. Archaeology [Notes on Central America, comparative hieroglyphics, the serpent symbol, "Memoir on the didactic paintings and the figurative writing of the ancient Mexicans," etc.]. About 500 pp.

Letters to Squier from:

Abbot, Samuel Leonard, 1818-1904 2 letters (1850)	Alvarado, León 49 letters (1853-69)
Agassiz, Alexander, 1835-1910 5 letters (1863-66)	Alvarez, M 5 letters (1865-72)
Agassiz, Jean Louis Rodolphe, 1807-1873 7 letters (1850-66)	Anderson, Charles, 1814-1895 1 letter (1866)
Akerman, John Yonge, 1806-1873 2 letters (1851-52)	Anderson, Joseph, 1832-1916 4 letters (1870-74)
Allen, A C 1 letter (1850)	Angell, James Burrill, 1829-1916 1 letter (1872)
Allen, H 1 letter (1853)	Anthony, C J 1 letter (1858)
Allibone, Samuel Austin, 1816-1889 3 letters (1859)	Anthony, Henry Bowen, 1815-1884 27 letters (1850-62)

- Araoz, Bartolome
1 letter (1865)
- Archibald, *Sir* Edward Mortimer, 1810-1884
1 letter (undated)
- Asher, Adolf, 1800-1853
2 letters (1852)
- Aspinwall, William Henry, 1807-1875
1 letter (1851)
- Aubin, Joseph Marius Alexis, b. 1802
14 letters (1851-58)
- Aylesworth, Asahel
1 letter (1847)
- Bache, Alexander Dallas, 1806-1867
1 letter (1853)
- Baird, Spencer Fullerton, 1823-1887
13 letters (1867-73)
- Baker, G D
5 letters (1853-67)
- Baldwin, John Denison, 1809-1883
1 letter (1871)
- Bancroft, Hubert Howe, 1832-1918
1 letter (1874)
- Barnett, F J
1 letter (1872)
- Barriga Alvarez, Felipe
1 letter (1865)
- Barrios, Gerardo, 1809-1865, President of Salvador
8 letters (1860-65)
- Barrundia, Antonia de
1 letter (1856)
- Barrundia, J[osé] Francisco de, 1780-1854, President of Central America
3 letters (1854)
- Barrundia, Miguel
1 letter (1855)
- Bartlett, John Russell, 1805-1886
38 letters (1848-72)
- Beaman, E O
1 letter (1872)
- Beaufort, Emily
1 letter (undated)
- Beaufort, *Sir* Francis, 1774-1857
1 letter (1856)
- Beckwith, N M
1 letter (1857)
- Beekman, James William, 1815-1877
1 letter (1849)
- Belcher, *Sir* Edward, 1799-1877
2 letters (1851-56)
- Bell, James Stanislaus, fl. 1820-1877
1 letter (1877)
- Belt, William
1 letter (1851)
- Berendt, Karl Hermann, 1817-1878
2 letters (1871-75)
- Biddle, Thomas, 1827-1875
1 letter (1872)
- Birch, Samuel, 1813-1885
30 letters (1864-73)
- Bird, Robert Montgomery, 1806-1854
3 letters (1851 and undated)
- Bird, W N
1 letter (1848)
- Birdseye, E[zekiel]
1 letter (1859)
- Black, Adam and Charles, of Edinburgh
9 letters (1857-58)
- Blackmore, William, d. 1878
8 letters (1867-71)
- Blake, Charles Carter
4 letters (1867-70)
- Blake, John Harrison, 1808-1899
2 letters (1847-48)
- Blake, William Phipps, 1825-1910
2 letters (1867-69)
- Blanchard and Lea, of Philadelphia
2 letters (1851)
- Bogart, William Henry, 1810-1888
1 letter (1848)
- Bollaert, William, 1807-1876
8 letters (1861-69)
- Bossange, Hector, 1795-1884
1 letter (1852)

- Boyd, Archer B
1 letter (1868)
- Brabrook, Sir Edward William, 1839-1930
1 letter (1873)
- Brasseur de Bourbourg, Charles Étienne, 1814-1874
9 letters (1852-70)
- Brevoort, James Carson, 1818-1887
1 letter (1862)
- Brown, D T
9 letters (1849-50)
- Brown, James
1 letter (1857)
- Brown, William, 1784-1864
8 letters (1857-59)
- Bruce, W J
1 letter (1870)
- Brush, George Jarvis, 1831-1912
1 letter (1853)
- Bruzual, B
1 letter (1869)
- Burke, Anna Christian
1 letter (1857)
- Burke, Luke
18 letters (1849-60 and undated)
- Burne, Albert G
2 letters (1850)
- Cáceres, Manuel
2 letters (1870-71)
- Cáceres, María de
1 letter (1850)
- Cacho, J M
1 letter (1871)
- Cáliz, Justo
1 letter (1872)
- Cariache, G
1 letter (1850)
- Carstensen, José
1 letter (1854)
- Cartailhac, Émile, 1845-1921
1 letter (1869)
- Carter, Samuel R
1 letter (1867)
- Casos, Fernando, b. 1828
2 letters (1865)
- Cass, Lewis, 1782-1866
1 letter (1853)
- Cassin, John, 1813-1869
1 letter (1849)
- Castillo, Manuel C
2 letters (1853-72)
- Cattenfield, William F
2 letters (1853)
- Cazneau, Cora Montgomery (*Mrs. William Leslie*)
1 letter (1853)
- Cazneau, Jane McManus
2 letters (1861)
- Chambers, John W
1 letter (1864)
- Cheney, Theseus Apoleon, 1830-1878
8 letters (1850-61)
- Chevalier, Michel, 1806-1879
2 letters (1856 and undated)
- Chew, R J
1 letter (1868)
- Chilton, Robert S
2 letters (1870-72)
- Christy, Henry, 1810-1865
1 letter (1857)
- Clark, Francis
3 letters (1849-50)
- Clark, Joseph
1 letter (1847)
- Clark, Meriwether Lewis, 1809-1881
2 letters (1848)
- Clarke, Robert, 1829-1899
2 letters (1872-74)
- Clay, J Randolph
1 letter (1861)
- Clayton, John Middleton, 1796-1856
3 letters (1849)
- Cochran, Jerome, 1831-1896
5 letters (1871-73)

- Cochran, S Morris
1 letter (1860)
- Cody, Thomas
1 letter (1872)
- Comfort, George Fisk, 1833-1910
4 letters (1868-70)
- Conkling, Frederick Augustus, 1816-1891
1 letter (1862)
- Cony, W M
1 letter (undated)
- Copeland, C C
1 letter (1852)
- Copway, George, 1818-c. 1863
2 letters (1848-49)
- Corwin, Thomas, 1794-1865
1 letter (1852)
- Cotheal, Alexander J
9 letters (1849-52)
- Cotrell, J Squire
2 letters (1851-54)
- Cotting, Benjamin Eddy, 1812-1897
1 letter (1868)
- Courret Hermanos
1 letter (1866)
- Crashaw, Edmund
3 letters (1860)
- Croker, Thomas Crofton, 1798-1854
6 letters (1849-54)
- Cross, Edward E
1 letter (1861)
- Cruz, Julián
2 letters (1870)
- Cull, Richard, 1794-1866
4 letters (1856-70)
- Cumming, Joseph D
1 letter (1874)
- Cunter, W J
1 letter (1851)
- Dana, Charles Anderson, 1819-1897
1 letter (1855)
- Dana, James Dwight, 1813-1895
1 letter (1851)
- Dandano, C
1 letter (1850)
- Daniel, Clemena
1 letter (undated)
- Davies, J T
1 letter (1872)
- Davis, Edwin Hamilton, 1811-1888
16 letters (1846-47)
- Davis, H B
4 letters (1856 and undated)
- Davis, John Chandler Bancroft, 1822-1907
1 letter (undated)
- Davis, Joseph Barnard, 1801-1881
31 letters (1856-71)
- Davis, Joseph Phineas, 1837-1917
1 letter (1869)
- Davis, Theodore T
1 letter (1848)
- Davis, W B
1 letter (1851)
- Deane, Henry P
2 letters (1850)
- D'Eichthal, Gustave
1 letter (1856)
- DeLancey, Edwin Floyd, 1821-1905
1 letter (1888)
- Denis, Ferdinand, 1798-1890
5 letters (1855-67 and undated)
- DePeyster, Frederic, 1796-1882
1 letter (1848)
- Dickson, J
2 letters (1851)
- Dille, Israel
1 letter (1847)
- Doratt, Charles
3 letters (1855-71)
- Drivon, D
1 letter (1852)
- Drowne, Henry Thayer, 1822-1897
12 letters (1849-72)
- Dupee, James Alexander, 1819-1886
1 letter (1855)

- Duyckinck, Evert Augustus, 1816-1878
2 letters (1850-54)
- Dwight, Theodore, 1796-1866
8 letters (1860-65)
- Eddy, Justus
2 letters (1849)
- Edwards, Amory, 1814-1881
12 letters (1853-72 and undated)
- Elhuore, J Federico
6 letters (1868-70)
- Ellis, Sir Henry, 1777-1869
1 letter (1851)
- Ellsworth, Pinckney Webster, 1814-1896
1 letter (1849)
- Embury, Daniel
3 letters (1850-52)
- Embury, J W
1 letter (1855)
- England, J W
1 letter (1866)
- Erwin, John W
1 letter (1860)
- Ewbank, Thomas, 1792-1870
8 letters (1851-61)
- Fairchild, William B
1 letter (1849)
- Fairholt, Frederick William, 1814-1866
2 letters (undated)
- Fay, Theodore Sedgwick, 1807-1898
1 letter (undated)
- Fearon, John
1 letter (1854)
- Feece, James Barr, 1862-1924
1 letter (1884)
- Fish, George P
1 letter (1863)
- Fiske, Daniel Willard, 1831-1904
1 letter (undated)
- Fitzroy, Robert, 1805-1865
4 letters (1856-58)
- Fleury, Manuel
1 letter (1870)
- Forbes, Daniel, 1828-1876
5 letters (1858-70 and undated)
- Foster, Frank Pierce, 1841-1911
1 letter (1871)
- Foster, John Wells, 1815-1873
7 letters (1853-70 and undated)
- Foster, Sir Michael, 1836-1907
6 letters (1856-57)
- Franks, Sir Augustus Wollaston, 1826-1897
1 letter (1870)
- French, Benjamin Franklin, 1799-1877
1 letter (1852)
- Froebel, Julius, 1805-1893
4 letters (1856-58)
- Gabb, William More, 1839-1878
1 letter (1873)
- Gales & Seaton
2 letters (1850)
- García y Valdés, José de Jesús Quintiliano
3 letters (1855 and undated)
- Garcin de Tassy, Joseph Héliodore
Sagesse Vertu, 1794-1878
4 letters (1857-61)
- Gay, Sydney Howard, 1814-1888
1 letter (1874)
- Gayangos y Arce, Pascual de, 1809-1897
9 letters (1867-68 and undated)
- Gibson, Thomas Milner, 1806-1884
1 letter (1857)
- Gliddon, George Robins, 1809-1867
78 letters (1847-60)
- Gómez, Ignacio, 1813-1879
10 letters (1853-70 and undated)
- Goncet, Jean
5 letters (1871-72)
- Goodrich, Charles Augustus, 1790-1862
1 letter (1853)
- Goodrich, Samuel Griswold, 1793-1860
1 letter (1852)
- Goodwin, S G
1 letter (undated)
- Graham, Charles Kinnaird, 1824-1889
1 letter (1862)
- Gray, Asa, 1810-1888
1 letter (1870)

- Guardiola, Santos, 1816-1862, President
of Honduras
5 letters (1857-60)
- Gunn, George
1 letter (1859)
- Guthrie, Anne S
1 letter (undated)
- Gutiérrez, Carlos
12 letters (1851-70)
- Gutiérrez, Ezequiel
1 letter (1868)
- Hackett, W K
1 letter (undated)
- Haight, Richard K
3 letters (undated)
- Haïtt, Charles Ludwig
2 letters (1872-73)
- Hale, David
1 letter (1870)
- Hall, Alfred James
1 letter (1868)
- Hallett, Henry L
2 letters (1855)
- Hammond, E
1 letter (1857)
- Hammond, James Henry, 1807-1864
2 letters (1847-48)
- Hanbury, Daniel, 1825-1875
1 letter (1865)
- Harris, George, 1809-1890
6 letters (1870-72)
- Hartley, William B
1 letter (1855)
- Harvey, Thomas, 1812-1884
3 letters (1865-67)
- Haskins, G W
1 letter (1851)
- Haven, Samuel Foster, 1806-1881
5 letters (1846-50)
- Hawks, Francis Lister, 1798-1866
2 letters (1848-49)
- Hayden, Ferdinand Vandiveer, 1829-
1887
1 letter (1869)
- Hazlewood, E
1 letter (1870)
- Heath, William McK
1 letter (1871)
- Hellwald, Friedrich Anton Heller von,
1842-1892
8 letters (1866-70)
- Helps, W R
3 letters (1869-70)
- Hempstead, C
1 letter (1849)
- Henry, Joseph, 1797-1878
46 letters (1847-59)
- Hensley, Samuel J
1 letter (1850)
- Herrán, Victor
10 letters (1857-73)
- Heuvel, J A von
1 letter (1850)
- Heywood, Frederick
1 letter (1853)
- Hildreth, Samuel Prescott, 1783-1863
2 letters (1846-60)
- Hilgard, Julius Erasmus, 1825-1891
1 letter (1869)
- Hill, Alfred James, 1833-1895
1 letter (1868)
- Hilliard, Henry Washington, 1808-1892
1 letter (1847)
- Hoadley, David
1 letter (1857)
- Hodge, James Thacher, 1816-1871
1 letter (1848)
- Hodgson, William Brown, b. 1800
5 letters (1859-61)
- Holland, Charles
6 letters (1858-59)
- Holmes, Nathaniel, 1815-1901
1 letter (1860)
- Hooper, George, 1824-1890
1 letter (undated)
- Hornby, Phipps
1 letter (1850)

- Horsford, Eben Norton, 1818-1893
2 letters (1860-67)
- Hostmann,
1 letter (1885)
- Hotze, Henry
1 letter (1858)
- Howard, Amelia
1 letter (1851)
- Howard, C J
1 letter (1859)
- Howard, J W
1 letter (1869)
- Howland, John
1 letter (1848)
- Hunt, Freeman, 1804-1858
1 letter (1849)
- Hunt, Samuel
1 letter (1869)
- Hunt, Thornton Leigh, 1810-1873
4 letters (1851 and undated)
- Jáuregui, Felipe
1 letter (1849)
- Javot, William
1 letter (1852)
- Jeffers, Lucie Le Grand (Smith)
1 letter (1869)
- Jeffers, William Nicholson, 1824-1883
4 letters (1853-60)
- Jewett, Charles Coffin, 1816-1868
1 letter (1849)
- Johnie, Charles O
1 letter (1848)
- Jomard, Edmé François, 1777-1862
7 letters (1851-52)
- Jones, Charles Colcock, Jr., 1831-1893
6 letters (1860-73)
- Jones, John P
1 letter (1871)
- Jorge, Bishop of San Salvador
1 letter (1849)
- Keeler, David M
4 letters (1849-50)
- Kellogg, Edward, 1790-1858
2 letters (1850)
- Kerferd, George B
3 letters (1857-58)
- Kern, R[ichard] H , d. 1853
1 letter (1853)
- Kilbourne, Payne Kenyon, 1815-1859
2 letters (1848-50)
- Kissing, H L
1 letter (undated)
- Knapp, Shepherd
1 letter (1857)
- Lanman, Charles, 1819-1895
1 letter (1848)
- Lard, Moses, 1818-1880
1 letter (1858)
- La Roquette, Jean Bernard Marie Alexandre Dezos de, 1784-1868
2 letters (1852)
- Latham, Robert Gordon, 1812-1888
4 letters (1855-56 and undated)
- Lawrence, Abbott, 1792-1855
1 letter (1847)
- Lawrence, James
1 letter (1867)
- Lawrence, T B
1 letter (1851)
- Lecaros, J M
1 letter (1864)
- LeConte, John Lawrence, 1825-1883
7 letters (1853-61)
- Ledieu, Alfred, 1830-1891
1 letter (1867)
- Leesdale, John
1 letter (1846)
- Leffert, W N
1 letter (1859)
- Leidy, Joseph, 1823-1891
2 letters (1860-69)
- Lemming, H
7 letters (1867-68)
- LePlongeon, Augustus, 1826-1908
2 letters (1865)
- Lepsius, Richard, 1810-1884
2 letters (undated)
- Levitt, Lloyd

- 1 letter (1872)
 Lewis, Edmonia
 1 letter (1872)
 Lieber, Francis, 1800-1872
 4 letters (1848-49)
 Limpert, W R
 1 letter (1871)
 Livingston, John
 11 letters (1850-53)
 Locke, John, 1792-1856
 1 letter (1845)
 Long, Moses
 1 letter (1848)
 Looney, Charles F
 1 letter (1868)
 Lowell, Charles, 1782-1861
 1 letter (1848)
 Ludewig, Hermann Ernst, 1809-1856
 11 letters (1848-49 and undated)
 Lupton, James
 4 letters (1847-49)
 Luz, J de la
 4 letters (1860)
 McBride, James, 1788-1859
 9 letters (1847-49)
 McIlvaine, Joshua Hall, 1815-1897
 1 letter (1873)
 MacKenzie, K[enneth] Robert Hender-
 son
 2 letters (1856-70)
 Mady, Antonio
 1 letter (1872)
 Major, Richard Henry, 1818-1891
 4 letters (1858-60)
 Malte-Brun, Victor Adolphe, 1816-1889
 6 letters (1855-58)
 Mann, Ambrose Dudley, 1801-1889
 8 letters (1851-55)
 Mannis, George K
 1 letter (1870)
 Mansfield, James V
 1 letter (1868)
 Marcoleta, José de
 39 letters (1851-54)
 Marcy, Randolph Barnes, 1812-1887
 2 letters (1854-56)
 Markham, Clements Robert, 1830-1916
 5 letters (1870-72)
 Markoe, Francis
 6 letters (1850-52 and undated)
 Marling, John Leake, 1825-1856
 1 letter (1854)
 Marsh, George Perkins, 1801-1882
 14 letters (1847-49)
 Marshall, Orsamus Holmes, 1813-1884
 7 letters (1848-51)
 Martin, Benjamin Nicholas, 1816-1883
 1 letter (1869)
 Maury, Louis Ferdinand Alfred, 1817-
 1892
 14 letters (1852-70)
 Maury, Matthew Fontaine, 1806-1873
 3 letters (1854-69)
 Mayer, Brantz, 1809-1879
 22 letters (1849-70)
 Medina, José María, d. 1878, President
 of Honduras
 1 letter (1871)
 Meigs, James Aitken, 1829-1879
 5 letters (1859-65)
 Michelan, E
 1 letter (undated)
 Miller, George L
 1 letter (1869)
 Miller, James A
 1 letter (1870)
 Mitchell, James B
 2 letters (1867-71)
 Molina, Pedro, 1777-1854
 1 letter (1854)
 Monteleone, M
 1 letter (1850)
 Moore, George Henry, 1823-1892
 1 letter (1848)
 Moore, Robert Ross Rowan, 1811-1864
 3 letters (1857)
 Morales, Agustín
 6 letters (1850-53)

- Morgan, Lewis Henry, 1818-1881
5 letters (1848-59)
- Morris, George
2 letters (1860-70)
- Morris, Robert, 1818-1888
8 letters (1847-48)
- Mortillet, Gabriel de, 1821-1898
1 letter (1867)
- Morton, Samuel George, 1799-1851
11 letters (1846-51)
- Muñoz, J F
4 letters (1849-50)
- Munsell, Joel, 1808-1880
5 letters (1859-60)
- Murphy, Henry Cruse, 1810-1882
1 letter (undated)
- Nicholson, Charles J
1 letter (1867)
- Norton, Charles Eliot, 1827-1908
45 letters (1849-67)
- Nott, Josiah Clark, 1804-1873
42 letters (1848-72)
- Oakes, Rensselaer Allston, 1835-1904
1 letter (1873)
- O'Callaghan, Edmund Bailey, 1797-1880
1 letter (1851)
- Orton, Charles J
3 letters (1847)
- Orton, James, 1830-1877
1 letter (1872)
- Pallaris, Henri
5 letters (1849-56)
- Parkman, Francis, 1823-1893
1 letter (1848)
- Partridge, James Rudolph, 1823-1884
3 letters (1862-63)
- Paul, J Manuel de
1 letter (1851)
- Paz Soldán, Mariano Felipe de, 1821-1886
2 letters (1867-68)
- Pearce, James Alfred, 1805-1862
1 letter (1848)
- Peden, James A
1 letter (1860)
- Perry, E W
1 letter (1851)
- Petermann, August Heinrich, 1822-1878
1 letter (1859)
- Pettigrew, Thomas Joseph, 1791-1865
1 letter (undated)
- Phillipps, Sir Thomas Jodrell, 1792-1872
7 letters (1860-70)
- Pickett, Thomas Edward, 1841-1913
1 letter (1871)
- Porter, Augustus, 1769-1849
1 letter (1848)
- Potter, Alonzo, 1800-1865
1 letter (1848)
- Potter, Chandler Eastman, 1807-1868
1 letter (1860)
- Poussin, Guillaume Tell, 1794-1876
1 letter (1857)
- Price, William H
1 letter (1846)
- Prisse d'Avennes, Achille Constant Théodore Émile, 1807-1879
15 letters (1856-58)
- Pugh, George Ellis, 1822-1876
1 letter (1872)
- Putnam, Frederic Ward, 1839-1915
9 letters (1869-73)
- Putnam, George Palmer, 1814-1872
1 letter (1852)
- Quiñones de Días, Josefa
1 letter (1850)
- Raimondi, Antonio, 1826-1890
6 letters (1862-70)
- Ramírez, José Fernando, 1804-1871
2 letters (undated)
- Ramírez, Norberto
4 letters (1850-53)
- Ramsey, James Gettys McGready, 1797-1884
2 letters (1848-49)
- Randall, A
1 letter (1847)

- Rau, Charles, 1826-1887
8 letters (1861-78)
- Ravenstein, Ernest George, 1834-1913
1 letter (1870)
- Reilly, F Devin
1 letter (undated)
- Reynolds, H W
2 letters (1847)
- Riggs, George Washington, 1813-1881
2 letters (1857)
- Rives, William Cabell, 1825-1889
1 letter (1852)
- Robinson, Christopher, 1806-1889
1 letter (1865)
- Robinson, Edward, 1794-1863
3 letters (1848-51)
- Robinson, Fayette, d. 1859
1 letter (1849)
- Robinson, Solon, 1803-1880
1 letter (1866)
- Rollins, John H
1 letter (1850)
- Romero, Lupareo
1 letter (1853)
- Romero, Matias, 1837-1898
1 letter (1867)
- Rooker, Thomas N
1 letter (1872)
- Rosa, William V
4 letters (1849)
- Rouhaud, Pierre
3 letters (1857)
- Rowland, Henry, 1806-1884
1 letter (1856)
- Rudler, Frederick William, 1840-1915
2 letters (1870)
- Russell, C H
1 letter (1870)
- Salinas, Sebastian
1 letter (1850)
- Sampson, Marmaduke Blake, d. 1876
1 letter (1855)
- Sandoval, José León
1 letter (1851)
- Sanford, Henry Seymour, 1832-1901
11 letters (1856-59 and undated)
- Sargent, John Osborne, 1811-1891
1 letter (undated)
- Savage, Henry
9 letters (1850-53)
- Scherzer, Carl
8 letters (1855-58)
- Schmidt, Johann Friedrich Julius, 1825-1884
7 letters (1866-68)
- Schoolcraft, Henry Rowe, 1793-1864
5 letters (1849-51)
- Shaw, Norton
6 letters (1858-66)
- Shields, James, 1806-1879
1 letter (1851)
- Silliman, Benjamin, 1779-1864
8 letters (1846-61)
- Silliman, Benjamin, Jr., 1816-1885
8 letters (1847-67)
- Simons, Michael Laird, 1843-1880
2 letters (1873)
- Smith, A Thomas
1 letter (1860)
- Smith, Buckingham, 1810-1871
29 letters (1851-57)
- Smith, Charles Roach, 1807-1890
2 letters (1851-52)
- Smith, Robert Payne, 1818-1895
1 letter (1846)
- Smith, S Oakes
1 letter (undated)
- Smith, Truman, 1791-1884
3 letters (1849-51)
- Smyth, P J
1 letter (1851)
- Sparks, Jared, 1789-1866
7 letters (1847-59)
- Spofford, Ainsworth Rand, 1825-1908
1 letter (1869)
- Spofford, Paul
1 letter (1857)

- Spohr, Max
1 letter (1884)
- Stanford, Edward, 1827-1904
1 letter (1859)
- Stanton, Edward
1 letter (1863)
- Stanton, Henry Thompson, 1834-1898
4 letters (1871-72)
- Staples, Seth Perkins, 1776-1861
1 letter (1849)
- Stephens, John Lloyd, 1805-1852
5 letters (1848-51)
- Stevens, Edward
1 letter (1867)
- Stevens, Henry, 1819-1886
5 letters (1852-67)
- Stevens, William Bacon, 1815-1887
1 letter (1849)
- Stiles, Henry Reed, 1832-1909
1 letter (1871)
- Stilwell, Silas Moore, 1800-1881
3 letters (1868 and undated)
- Strain, Isaac G., 1821-1857
4 letters (1854-56)
- Sturgis, Russell, 1836-1909
1 letter (undated)
- Sullivan, Charles
1 letter (undated)
- Swayne, Henry
5 letters (1867-68)
- Taylor, Alexander Smith, 1817-1876
8 letters (1859-72)
- Temple, *Sir* Richard, bart., 1826-1902
3 letters (1852-56)
- Thayer, James S
3 letters (1855-59)
- Thayer, Medora
1 letter (1856)
- Thornton, Richard, 1776-1865
2 letters (1851)
- Ticknor, George, 1791-1871
1 letter (1860)
- Tomlins, Frederick Guest, 1804-1867
1 letter (1858)
- Torrey, John, 1796-1873
1 letter (1862)
- Trautwine, John Cresson, 1810-1883
1 letter (1858)
- Travers, Marcus
7 letters (1857-58)
- Troost, Gerard, 1776-1850
1 letter (1848)
- Trübner, Nikolaus, 1817-1884
15 letters (1855-76)
- Trumbull, Henry Clay, 1830-1903
2 letters (1847)
- Trumbull, James Hammond, 1821-1897
7 letters (1847-72)
- Trumbull, Joseph, 1782-1861
1 letter (1848)
- Turner, Orsamus
1 letter (1848)
- Turner, William Wadden, 1810-1859
24 letters (1851-57)
- Tyng, James H
1 letter (1852)
- Vargas, Francisco
1 letter (1866)
- Vásquez, José María
1 letter (1866)
- Vaux, William Sandys Wright, 1818-1885
1 letter (1856)
- Venero, J N
2 letters (1872-73)
- Vicuña Mackenna, Benjamín, 1831-1886
1 letter (undated)
- Villiers, E P
1 letter (undated)
- Vinton, Francis Laurens, 1835-1879
1 letter (1863)
- Vinton, Samuel Finley, 1792-1862
1 letter (1847)
- Viuda, *General* E
2 letters (1873)
- Wagner, Daniel
1 letter (1861)

- Wailes, Benjamin Leonard Covington,
 1797-1862
 1 letter (1846)
- Wake, Charles Staniland, 1835-1910
 2 letters (1870-71)
- Walbridge, Hiram, 1821-1870
 1 letter (1864)
- Waldeck, Jean Frédéric Maximilien,
comte de, 1766-1875
 4 letters (1856 and undated)
- Walsh, Robert, 1784-1859
 2 letters (1855-56)
- Wampler, J M
 1 letter (1853)
- Warner, Andrew, 1806-1899
 1 letter (1848)
- Warren, John Collins, 1778-1856
 3 letters (1846-50)
- Warren, Thomas Robinson, 1828-1915
 1 letter (undated)
- Watson, Christopher Knight
 1 letter (1867)
- Welford, Charles
 1 letter (undated)
- Welford, Margaret L
 4 letters (1853)
- Wells, William Vincent, 1826-1876
 6 letters (1870-73)
- Wharton, J E
 2 letters (1846-47)
- Wheeler, J F
 1 letter (1846)
- Whelpley, James Davenport, 1817-1872
 5 letters (1849-51)
- White, Andrew Dickson, 1832-1918
 1 letter (1870)
- White, David L
 6 letters (1849)
- White, H
 1 letter (1847)
- White, Joseph L
 3 letters (1849-57)
- Whittington, C M
 1 letter (1872)
- Whitney, Josiah Dwight, 1819-1896
 1 letter (1860)
- Whittlesey, Charles, 1808-1886
 12 letters (1847-62)
- Wilde, William Robert Wills, 1815-
 1876
 1 letter (1858)
- Williamson, J
 1 letter (1850)
- Wilson, John, 1812-1888
 1 letter (1864)
- Winthrop, Robert Charles, 1809-1894
 2 letters (1866)
- Woodbury, P
 2 letters (1849-50)
- Woodhouse, S W
 8 letters (1853-54)
- Workman, James
 1 letter (1874)
- Wright, Thomas, 1810-1877
 21 letters (1856-70)
- Wyman, Jeffries, 1814-1874
 17 letters (1847-73)
- Wynne, James, 1814-1871
 2 letters (1863)
- Yulee, David Levy, 1810-1886
 1 letter (1856)
- Zapata, Francisco D
 7 letters (1849-53)
- Zelaya, José María
 7 letters (1853-66)
- Zestermann, August Christian Adolf,
 1807-1869
 5 letters (1851-64)

Drafts and copies of letters from Squier to:

The Editors of *Appleton's Journal*

11 Apr. 1870

The Editors of the *New York Courier and Enquirer*

5 Jan. 1850

The Editors of the *North American Review*

21 Jan. 1851

Henry, Joseph, 1797-1878

21 Feb. 1848

Morton, Samuel George, 1799-1851

16 Jan. and 4 Apr. 1847

Rafn, Carl Christian, 1795-1864

26 Sept. 1851

Rawdon, Leverett

25 May 1850

Honduras Papers

Manuscripts:

1. Private memoranda: the contract prices for the Honduras Railway. 2 pp.
2. Republic of San Salvador, Central America. Plan of Development of the Country by means of a system of Railways. 5 pp.
3. Honduras Inter-Oceanic Railroad: statements, inventories, lists of employees, etc. 33 pp.
4. Letterbook of John Cresson Trautwine (1810-1883), Chief Engineer for the Honduras Railroad: correspondence, reports, instructions with Squier, William Nicholson Jeffers (1824-1883) (hydrographic engineer), Henry Seymour Sanford (1832-1901) (the Company's Special Agent), and others. 1857-59. 400 pp.
5. Correspondence of Don Luis Molina, Minister of Honduras in the United States. Originals, letter press, and official copies, 1864-67. Chiefly with the President of Honduras and the Foreign Ministers. 68 pieces.
6. Gliddon, George Robins (1809-1867): Reports to Squier on the planning of the Honduras Railroad, all written from Omoa:
 - i. 16 May 1857. 44 pp.
 - ii. 22 May 1857. 50 pp.
 - iii. 13 June 1857. 14 pp.
 - iv. 30 Sept. 1857. 163 pp.

Drafts or copies of letters from Squier to:

Alvarado, Francisco, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Honduras
9 letters (1870-72)

Bowles, Charles

2 letters (1871-72)

Creswell, John Angel James, 1828-1891

1 letter (1870)

Dueños, Francisco

1 letter (1870)

Leiva, Ponciano

2 letters (1871)

Medina, José María, d. 1878, President of Honduras

1 letter (1872)

Squier Material in Other Library of Congress Collections

Letters from Squier to:

Chase, Salmon Portland, 1808-1873

11 Mar. and 7 Apr. 1861 (Chase Papers)

Clayton, John Middleton, 1796-1856

8 letters dated 12 Sept. 1849—2 Sept. 1850 (Clayton Papers). These letters are published in Mary Wilhelmine Williams: "Letters of E. George Squier to John M. Clayton, 1849-1850," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 1 (1918), 426-34.

Corwin, Thomas, 1794-1865

8 Mar. 1852 (Corwin Papers)

Fish, Hamilton, 1808-1893

10 Mar. 1849 (Fish Papers)

Hammond, James Henry, 1807-1864

7 Apr. 1848 and [] 1860 (Hammond Papers)

Harrison, Anna (Symmes) Mrs. William Henry, 1775-1864

3 Oct. 1848 (Harrison Papers)

Jenckes, Thomas Allen, 1818-1875

5 May 1870 (Jenckes Papers)

Johnson, Andrew, 1808-1875

8 Jan. 1866 (Johnson Papers)

Marcy, William Learned, 1786-1857

1 Sept. 1856 (Marcy Papers)

Bibliographical Notes

Dr. Burney and the Integrity of Boswell's Quotations

The scrupulosity of James Boswell as an editor of texts in his *Life of Johnson* has been often questioned and often defended. In his edition of *The Letters of Samuel Johnson* (1952) Dr. R. W. Chapman pointed out discrepancies between the original text of a letter from Johnson to Dr. Burney, dated 4 Sept. 1784 (No. 1004), and the quotation from it which Boswell printed in the *Life* (ed. G. B. Hill, rev. L. F. Powell, IV, 360-61). Not only had sentences within the quotation been omitted, but there was a deliberate substitution in the text. In his note to the letter Chapman stated, "This discovery, of course, raises the question of the integrity of JB's texts of J's letters." In an appendix (*Letters*, III, 308), Chapman narrowed the problem to this single instance: "The only letter of Johnson's that Boswell can plausibly be suspected to have garbled is 1004." He added, however, that Boswell "was almost certainly innocent." As evidence, he quoted in a later appendix (*Letters*, III, 331) the opinion of Professor and Mrs. Pottle, after an examination of the MS. of the *Life*, that Burney probably gave Boswell only copies of Johnson's letters to him, and that the tamperings were to be charged to him rather than to Boswell.

The recent discovery of two leaves of the material originally supplied by Burney makes possible a re-examination of the question and a definite ascription of responsibility. On Saturday 3 Nov. 1787, Boswell recorded in his journal: "Walked to Chelsea College and breakfasted with Dr. Burney, who gave me some letters from Johnson to him" (*Boswell Papers* XVII, 52). (By "gave me," as Chapman suggested, Boswell probably meant "lent," for the letters or copies of them were not found with similar materials for the *Life* among the Boswell Papers.) Burney supplied Boswell, however, with more than the letters. Recently, whilst examining the extensive accumulation of Burney family papers in the collections of Mr. James M. Osborn at Yale, I encountered a leaf of a short account by Burney of the development of his friendship with Johnson. Some months later, I recognized among the Burney items in the Johnsonian Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Donald F. Hyde, the preceding leaf, which has pages 3 and 4 of the narrative, the Osborn leaf being numbered 5 and 6. Although this MS. contains some anecdotes, it is basically an attempt to supply the context and occasion of each of the letters from Johnson which originally accompanied it. The first two pages are still missing, but they would undoubtedly contain an account of the opening of the correspondence with Johnson, when Burney was still an organist in King's Lynn in the 1750's. These three early letters were printed by Boswell in the *Life* (I, 285-86, 323-24, 327-28). The

missing pages may also have contained the note on Burney's disagreement with Sir John Hawkins about the success of Johnson's *Irene* in 1749 (*Life*, I, 197-98n.).

Page 3, in the Hyde MS., begins in the middle of Burney's description of his first visit to Johnson, a passage which Boswell printed verbatim (*Life*, I, 328-29). Burney's sparse narrative then introduces in turn letters which he numbers 4, 5, 6, and 7 (*Letters*, Nos. 177, 588, 589, and 882). These letters Boswell also printed from the accompanying copies, reproducing faithfully in his own prose Burney's remarks on them. These seven letters brought Burney up to 1783, the year before Johnson's death, and all of them, he would be able to feel, would bear evidence of his friendship with Johnson. On the other hand, there was little that was remarkable about them: they were cordial, but brief, and hardly suggested the degree of friendship which had existed between the two men, particularly during and after the years when they met so frequently at the Thrales' house at Streatham and when correspondence had been unnecessary. As it was, these seven letters were scattered over some twenty-eight years, and two of them (*Letters*, Nos. 588 and 589) were mere notes of introduction to Oxford scholars which Johnson wrote to assist Burney in his musical researches.

In the last six months of his life, however, Johnson had written six more letters to Burney. In the summer of 1784 Burney had undertaken to write his *Account . . . of the Commemoration of Handel*, the great musical occasion which had taken place the previous May in Westminster Abbey. Years before, in 1776, Johnson had written anonymously the Dedication to the Queen in the first volume of Burney's *History of Music*, and Burney's friends had congratulated him on its eloquence. Now, in 1784, the *Commemoration* was to be dedicated to the King, and again Burney felt that his own powers were not equal to the lofty occasion. The ailing Johnson agreed to write the Dedication, but, since he was spending the summer with Dr. Taylor at Ashbourne, discussion of details had to be conducted by letter. The four letters which Johnson wrote to Burney in August and September were almost entirely devoted to discussion of what was to be his last literary production.

Three years later, in 1787, Burney's anxiety to be commemorated in Boswell's great work as an intimate friend and regular correspondent of Johnson was matched by an equal anxiety to conceal Johnson's authorship of the noble Dedication. Burney solved the problem by providing Boswell, in the last three pages of his narrative, with partial transcripts of these letters, omitting all but the most innocent mention of the *Commemoration* and Johnson's part in the work. These transcripts begin on page 4 of the Hyde MS. and are introduced with the

statement that Johnson "was so ill during this time that his Letters are chiefly answers to inquiries made ab^t his health."

In the original of the first letter, dated 2 Aug. 1784 (*Letters*, No. 984), Johnson agreed in the first sentence to write the Dedication, and then turned to other matters, so that Burney could safely transcribe the letter in full. However, the ending of that first sentence—"you shall certainly have what my thoughts will supply, in recommendation of your new book"—would at once give the whole game away. Burney therefore provided Boswell with a substitute reading: "I shall be glad to see the sheets of your new book." Johnson's perusal of the proofs of his friend's book was quite a different matter from his actually employing his pen for Burney. Yet even after this alteration Burney felt that any suspicion that Johnson had directly contributed to the work must be firmly quashed. He therefore inserted a note in the text of the letter:

D^r B. was now writing an acc^t of the Commemoration of Handel—D^r J. died before it was published, & never saw it even in MS. *as he was too far off, or too ill the whole time it was in hand, to be consulted in literary matters*, though during health ever ready & sincerely zealous in such acts of friendship [My italics].

This note is a curious mixture of truth and falsification. From the original letters which have survived we know that Johnson carried on a steady correspondence with Burney about alterations and additions to the Dedication. Boswell may have scented some problem which it would be better to avoid completely (or, more likely, found himself at the end of his second volume running short of space): in any case, he omitted both the sentence containing Burney's alteration and the note on Johnson's inability to help him. Boswell began his quotation from the letter (*Life*, IV, 360) with the sentence "The weather, you know, has not been balmy." The original letter reads "very balmy," and the fact that Boswell reproduced the small error in Burney's transcript shows that he had no other text from which to work. On page 5 of the Osborn leaf, Burney gives a footnote to this letter about Johnson's views on weather as a conversational topic. At the end of this note the name "*Burney*" is added in Boswell's hand, and the attribution is reproduced in the *Life*. Other marks, and corresponding directions to the printer in the MS. of the *Life*, now in the Boswell Papers at Yale, leave no doubt that Burney's transcript of these 1784 letters was actually used as printer's copy.

Burney gave similar treatment to the three following letters on pages 5 and 6; but omission of any mention of the Dedication left Boswell with so little to quote that he did not bother to print or mention what Burney transcribed for him from the letters of 23 and 28 Aug. (*Letters*, Nos. 998.1, 1000.1). Burney

was able to give a more liberal quotation from the letter of 4 Sept. in which Johnson had generalized eloquently on some point about the Dedication, without being limited to the particular reference. To bridge an omission in this letter, Burney made the substitution which first aroused Chapman's suspicions of the innocent Boswell.

The letter of 1 Nov. (No. 1030) is only referred to by Burney. A long extract from it appears in the *Life* (iv, 361), so Burney had presumably returned to his practice of sending Boswell the original or copy separately, since no careful excisions or alterations had to be made. Burney's narrative ends on page 6 with the text of Johnson's brief and touching note (No. 1036), written on 17 Nov. on his return to London. Burney describes it as the "Last written memento w^{ch} D^r B. rec^d from his much beloved & venerated friend! who died in less than a month after it was written, Dec^r 13. 1784!"

Burney omitted at least four letters from his list (Nos. 589.1, 620.1, 661, and 767.4). At first glance the motive would seem to be only the extreme brevity of these notes. The last, however, dated 18 Mar. 1782, clearly refers to help that Johnson had been giving Burney with the second volume of the *History of Music*. In the light of the new evidence, Burney's omission of it from his account must now appear less casual than it had seemed.

In 1790, three years after Boswell had originally applied to Burney for material, the biographer was still trying to obtain information. Burney wrote to his daughter Fanny on 27 Oct., "B[oswell] has long teased me for the story ab^t the *Broom man*, as poor Bewley used to be called at Streatham—I have scribbled it out to shew you on Thursday . . ." (Barrett Papers, British Museum). The well-known incident appeared in the *Life* (iv, 134), and the MS. which Burney sent to Boswell and which was used as printer's copy, is preserved in the MS. of the *Life*. Boswell also printed a number of sayings of Johnson as recollected by Burney (*Life*, II, 406-10). These are not found in Burney's narrative and may also have been obtained at some later date.

Nevertheless, the four pages in the Hyde and Osborn Collections (together with the two preceding pages, wherever they may be) constitute the basic source of information and text for the letters supplied by Burney. Boswell can now be definitely acquitted from the charge of tampering with Johnson's letters: his attitude towards the integrity of a text, acquired from Malone, was well in advance of his time. Dr. Burney, on the other hand, is now discovered unhappily divided between his desire to obtain immortality as a friend of Johnson, and his anxiety to conceal his obligations for the Dedication which Johnson wrote over his friend's name. Yet he was not alone in his wish to suppress his indebtedness, for Sir Joshua Reynolds and Bishop Percy also went to some trouble to ensure that Boswell did not disclose the assistance they had received from Johnson.

Burney, indeed, may deserve extra sympathy, for it would have been intolerably embarrassing for him to have had to admit to his Sovereigns and to the public that the Dedications of his two best-known books had been written by one who proclaimed constantly and cheerfully his own complete insensitivity to music, and, on occasions, his suspicion of all those who practiced it.

ROGER LONSDALE

Yale University

Sarah Orne Jewett's "A Dark Night"

A hitherto unpublished letter of Sarah Orne Jewett to Arthur Stedman brings to light one of her stories that has not previously been recorded. Arthur Stedman (1859-1908), the second son of Edmund Clarence Stedman, assisted his father in many of his literary enterprises, particularly the *Library of American Literature*, and was on friendly terms with many of the writers and artists who knew the elder Stedman.¹

The letter follows:²

25 February 1895

South Berwick.

Maine.

Dear Mr. Stedman

I send you the story for Messrs. Bachelier & Co. and I hope that you will find that it serves their purpose—I chose this scheme rather than one or two others which I had in hand, bearing in mind Mr. Bachelier's special message about "action & excitement" and that "the story would be printed in instalments of about 2000 words." Two, or three, of these four chapters will go two or three hundred words beyond that—but I hope the story will be manageable—in every way! and pray do not let it be reckoned as over the 8000 words of the original contract!

This fortnight's work has been the first after my illness, which has been even longer and more hindering than I feared when I wrote you. [and] I thought within a month even, that I must give up all my engagements. But since I have been getting out I have quickly picked up strength and now after five or six weeks in the country I shall soon be going back to town. To pervert Dr. Johnson a little: "Sir, when you have seen (green) (green) one snow field you have seen all snow fields. Sir I like to look upon men. Let us

¹ The names of E. C. Stedman and his son Arthur do not appear significantly in Francis Otto Matthiessen's *Sarah Orne Jewett* (Boston, 1929), and Miss Jewett's name is equally absent from Laura Stedman and George M. Gould's *Life and Letters of Edmund Clarence Stedman* (New York, 1910), but Miss Jewett and the Stedmans were nevertheless friends.

² I wish to thank Mr. R. Norris Williams, 2d, and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania for their kind permission to publish the letter.

Cheapside

walk down Charles Street!"³ Yet there never was a more beautiful winter in this bit of Country, and now that the elms look browner and the sky bluer I am sorry to go away again. Shall we not see you in Charles St. this spring?⁴—and may I venture to send a message of great regard to your father at the end of this letter which seems to have wandered far from business. I wish to thank you at this late date for sending me your report of the Bryant Centennial Celebration.⁵ What a dusty friendly delightful day it was, and how clearly you brought back my two last impressions of it and made me quite forget the dust! I hope that we shall not forget to talk about it some day. Mr. Warner's "Study" paper which recalled it was full of wisdom—did you not think so?⁶

Yours most sincerely

Sarah O. Jewett.

The Bacheller Syndicate—"Messrs. Bacheller & Co."—formed by Irving Bacheller,⁷ was one of the pioneer newspaper syndicates in the United States.⁸ Bacheller began operations in a modest way in 1883, gradually expanded his business, especially through competition with S. S. McClure, his chief rival, and by 1892 supplied "more than 56 leading city newspapers each week with an amount of material equal in volume to one issue of the *Century* magazine. . . ."⁹ Because of the large quantity of material the syndicate was receiving, Bacheller felt the need of editorial assistance and in 1890 obtained the services of E. C. Stedman, who agreed to advise him "on literary matters, although he could not take full-time editorial responsibility."¹⁰ Apparently, as

³ See *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, ed. George Birkbeck Hill and L. F. Powell (Oxford, 1934), I, 461, a reference suggested by Lawrence G. Blackmon; or Hester Lynch Piozzi, *Anecdotes of the Late Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*, 2d ed. (London, 1786), p. 100, suggested by Philip Eibel.

⁴ At the home of Annie Adams Fields, widow of James T. Fields, noted literary hostess, and close friend of Miss Jewett: see DAB.

⁵ "The Bryant Centenary," *Dial* XVII (1 Sept. 1894), 107-108. The celebration took place at Cummington, Massachusetts, on 16 Aug. 1894.

⁶ See "Editor's Study," *Harper's Magazine* LXXXIX (1894), 960-64, especially 962-63. For Charles Dudley Warner (1829-1900), and his friendship with Miss Jewett, see Annie A. Fields, *Charles Dudley Warner* (1904), pp. 164-65, 183-84.

⁷ (1859-1950): see *Twentieth Century Authors, A First Supplement*, ed. Stanley J. Kunitz and Vineta Colby (New York, 1955).

⁸ For a good if condensed sketch of this aspect of journalism, see Alfred McClung Lee, *The Daily Newspaper in America, The Evolution of a Social Instrument* (New York, 1937), pp. 576-86.

⁹ Charles E. Samuels, "Irving Bacheller's Pioneer Syndicate," *Journalism Quarterly* XXIV (Winter 1957), 91. I am principally indebted to Samuels' article for my account; but see also Irving Bacheller, *Coming Up the Road, Memories of a North County Boyhood* (Indianapolis, 1928), pp. 259-73, 275-78, 290, 293-96, for his own reminiscences of the syndicate. His greatest literary coup was unquestionably the first publication of Crane's *Red Badge of Courage*.

¹⁰ Samuels, p. 92. For Bacheller's account of his first meeting with Stedman, in 1887, see *Life of Stedman*, II, 374-75.

was the case with many of his other ventures, Stedman delegated much of the work to his son, who became in effect literary agent for both author and syndicate.¹¹ The elder Stedman doubtless gave advice, and may have solicited manuscript material from noted authors of the day, but the letter makes clear that Arthur also handled such solicitation as well as the business arrangements.

Miss Jewett contributed at least eight stories to the Bachelier Syndicate.¹² One of them, "A Dark Night," the story referred to in the letter just given, has not hitherto been known.¹³ It is an adventure story, with of course a love element—at first subordinate, but ultimately predominant. The illustrations and a few of the details of the story suggest a late eighteenth-century setting, and, indeed, "A Dark Night" seems evidently to be a preliminary sketch for chapters 42 through 44 of *The Tory Lover*. The similarity is only approximate, but the general correspondence of situation and action—an isolated inn, mysterious strangers, attempted foul play, the unexpected meeting of separated lovers—is unmistakable. Apparently, Miss Jewett was trying her hand, on a small scale, at the kind of historical romance or adventure story she had long wished to attempt.¹⁴

¹¹ Arthur seems to have continued in this capacity for some years. Miss Jewett writes to him, in a letter from South Berwick, 22 May 1899, about the publication of one of her works ("Selections from the Literary Correspondence of Edmund Clarence Stedman," *Magazine of History* xxv [Nov.-Dec. 1917], 140-51): "Sometimes I have printed things with deep regret and found them very much approved. Mr. Aldrich often reproaches me for my misunderstanding of the value of two or three *Atlantic* sketches while he was Editor!" This passage is the only part of the letter reproduced (p. 145). See also the unpublished letter from Amelia E. Barr, the novelist, to Arthur, 24 Nov. 1900, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. She writes in part: "I wish to place in your hands my novel '*The Lion's Whelp*' for serialization in America and Great Britain with the understanding that you deduct ten per cent on the sale of the American rights; and fifteen per cent on the British Serial rights through your representative Mr. Pinker in London."

¹² This was not the first syndicate to which Miss Jewett contributed. S. S. McClure declares that she wrote for his syndicate and "took a friendly interest" in it—*My Autobiography* (New York, 1914), p. 182.

¹³ It appeared in the *Philadelphia Press*, 16-19 Apr. 1895. Other Bachelier Syndicate stories in the *Press* were "Told in the Tavern," 15 Apr. 1894, "In a Country Practice," 27 and 28 Nov. 1894, "Little French Mary," 2 June 1895, and "An Empty Purse, A New England Christmas Tale," 21 Dec. 1895 (this last also was printed in the *Boston Transcript*). Appearing in the *Boston Transcript* were "The Night Before Thanksgiving," 16 Nov. 1895, "A Village Patriot," 3 July 1896, and "A Pinch of Salt," 30 Oct. 1897. These stories were doubtless printed in other newspapers as well. Of the stories published in the *Transcript*, I am able to give for the first time the place of publication of "A Village Patriot"; the others have all been listed by Clara Carter Weber and Carl J. Weber in their useful *Bibliography of the Published Writings of Sarah Orne Jewett* (Waterville, Maine, 1949). Of the stories appearing in the *Press*, I am able to give the place and date of first publication—in a multiple sense at least—of "Little French Mary" as well as of "A Dark Night."

¹⁴ For an early use of material that reappeared in *The Tory Lover*, see *Country By Ways* (Boston, 1881), pp. 8-33. Miss Jewett spoke of the novel (*Sarah Orne Jewett Letters*,

In "A Dark Night" she centers her interest in the reactions, psychological and physical, of her hero, Weymouth, and emphasizes the dreamlike quality of the dangerous circumstances and action. She does not have space to carry out fully the plot she has envisaged, and the ending of the story is hurried and overly condensed. But the main difficulty, the failure to fuse character and action so that the material is wholly unified, foreshadows one of the chief defects of the novel. *The Tory Lover* is a better book than is generally recognized, but Miss Jewett's real concern is with character portrayal and with the careful and economical realization of setting and atmosphere. Extended and, in particular, violent action, as she herself acknowledged, she finds more difficult—primarily, I should say, because she is not really interested in it. Admittedly, she is not able to make her characters in *The Tory Lover* entirely convincing; but they are far more skilfully handled than the figures in the average historical novel, and the action, if deficient, is still competently set forth. "A Dark Night" reveals far more nakedly the problems she struggles with in the novel and is for that reason interesting despite its partial failure.

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The Manuscript Alterations in the Honeyman First Folio

A quarter of a century ago the press announced the appearance of a unique and unrecorded First Folio, said to come from the library of one of the oldest titled families in England. The volume contained textual alterations in a hand assigned by British Museum experts to the reign of Charles I, and it was suggested that the writer might have had access to lost manuscripts or have seen performances of the plays.¹ After its moment in the public eye, the volume quietly disappeared. It is now in the collection of Mr. Robert B. Honeyman, Jr., of San Juan Capistrano, California, who has kindly lent it to the Lehigh University Library so that the value of these manuscript alterations might be ascertained.²

ed. Richard Cary [Waterville, Maine, 1956], p. 95) as having "taken more than a solid year's hard work and the dreams and hopes of many a year beside."

¹ All notices were based on a press release which is in the hands of the present owner of the Folio. A typical account is the note in *The Publishers' Weekly* CXXVI (18 Aug. 1934), 512. A more extensive article appeared in *Shakespeare Association Bulletin* x (1935), 58-59.

² Mr. Honeyman, Class of 1920, has been a generous donor of rare books to Lehigh University. The Honeyman Collection there now contains some 4,000 items. Quartos of Elizabethan and Jacobean plays in the Collection were described in *Notes and Queries*, N.S. IV (Feb. 1957), 64-65.

The Honeyman Folio, bound in eighteenth-century boards, measures 12 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". It is a defective copy lacking all preliminaries and five plays: *Temp.*, *T. G. V.*, *Wives*, *Meas.*, *Cym.* The missing preliminaries are replaced by three leaves, the first two conjugate. The first leaf is blank. The second contains a manuscript list of the thirty-one plays preserved in the copy. On the third (non-conjugate) leaf, portions of the drop-title which appears on B2 of perfect copies have been pasted to provide a title-page. On the verso is pasted "The Names of the Principall Actors / in all these Playes," also cut from the original B2.

The Honeyman Folio is highly unusual in having the position of the comedies and tragedies switched, but it has probably not always been bound in this order. The missing plays include the four comedies which ordinarily appear at the beginning and *Cym.*, which ordinarily comes at the end. Apparently the volume, originally bound (or, at least, tied) in the normal order, was heavily damaged both at the front and back, and when it was rebound, the order of the plays was changed.

The collation is:³

2a-2f⁶ 2g² 2G⁶ 2h⁶ 2k-2y⁶ 2z², a-g⁶ 2g⁸ h-v⁶ x⁴, χ1, 2, ¶-2¶⁶ 3¶1,
H-2B⁶[-P5] 2C². 386 leaves, paged [2a1] 1-368; [a1] 1-232;
after x4, fifteen leaves unnumbered, except χ2, which is paged 79-
80; [H1] 85-303.

Several leaves are supplied from F2:m3, 4; n1-6; p1, 2; r1-6; s1-3. In quire n, the original signatures from F1 have been retained by pasting in the signature corner of each leaf a piece from F1, one column wide and 15-22 lines of print high. Other inserted leaves are intact and, therefore, have the signatures of F2.

The volume contains manuscript entries in at least five hands ranging from early or mid-seventeenth century to at least mid-eighteenth century. Hand I appears only in the list of plays on the table of contents page; it is a seventeenth-century italic hand.

Hand II, which appears both on the table of contents page and throughout the volume, is not earlier than mid-eighteenth century. On the table of contents page it lists plays missing from the copy and notes where leaves are lacking or have been added from F2. At the head of each play this hand indicates

³ This description follows that in Sir Walter Greg's *A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama* III (London, 1957), except for the use of actual signature [2g] for the anomalous quire in the histories. The Honeyman Folio has all the errors in signatures and pagination noted by Greg, except that it preserves the corrected states of the two cases of variant signatures. Greg has 278 misprinted as 259, but this must be an error; at least, both folios and all facsimiles at my disposal have 279 misprinted as 259. Greg cites *Timon* as beginning on 2G2, but it actually begins on 2G1^v. *Othello* begins on 2s3^v which is misprinted in Greg as 253^v.

either "No Quarto" or dates of quartos known to the writer. In all, 28 quartos are listed, the latest being the 1655 *Lear* and *Caesar*. Among them is a 1639 2*H.IV* and a 1624 *R.III*,⁴ neither of which is mentioned in Pollard and Bartlett, *A Census of Shakespeare Plays in Quarto* (Oxford, 1916). Thus, the annotations raise the interesting speculation that two quartos known to the writer may since have disappeared.

Hand II also notes at the proper places the insertions from F2. Most of the notes appear on the first leaf of each inserted group, but at the foot of m2^v we are told that two leaves are wanting, and just below this note we are informed that they have been supplied from F2. Evidently the writer made the insertion; indeed, since Hand II and the binding seem roughly contemporary, one may suppose that the present state of the volume is due chiefly to the labors of the writer.

Hand III, a modified secretary, is of interest because it throws light on the provenance of the volume. Along the side of 2t2^v a partially clipped inscription reads: "Be it knowne to all men by these p^ents that I Randall Brereton"; three illegible letters follow.⁵ Brereton probably wrote his name at the top of 2n3 and 2n5, but the first has been blotted out and the second smudged. Brereton's hand also appears at the top of e4 in a clipped inscription beginning "And God was."

Hand IV, also early, appears only on q4^v in a portion of the Lord's Prayer. Notes on three other pages have been clipped, except for a few tails of letters.

From the scholar's point of view, Hand V is the most important. It appears in the textual alterations and "The names of the actors" [i.e., a list of the characters in the play] added at the end of the first three plays (*Cor.*, *Tit.*, and *Romeo*). This hand may very well be early seventeenth century, but it is a model italic and therefore difficult to date. The ink is black, like that used by Hand I; other ink in the volume is brown.

The writer of Hand V did not go about his work methodically. In all, he made 106 entries in the text (if we consider as one entry several cases affecting more than one word), but they are concentrated in only a few plays: 17 in *Cor.*, 28 in *Tit.*, 45 in *Romeo*, 8 in *Tim.*, 2 each in *Caesar* and *Macb.*, and 1 each in *Oth.*, *Troi.*, *Merch.*, and *Wint.*

The following classification will give some indication of the nature of the

⁴ Possibly an error for the quarto of 1622?

⁵ The only traceable Randall Brereton who might have put his pen to a Shakespeare folio is a descendant of the Breretons of Wattenhall. In that family, a Randall Brereton, described as "Learned at the Common Law," was evidently alive at the time of the Cheshire Visitation in 1613. By the time of the 1663 visitation, the Christian name, which had been one of the most popular in the main branch of the family for nearly two centuries, had disappeared. (See *Harleian Society Publications*, vols. 18, 59, 93.)

alterations; only those readings not found in all modern editions are given in detail. The first column gives F readings; the second column, the manuscript readings of the Honeyman Folio; the third column, readings of modern editors.⁶

I. Restoration of original readings in places where imperfect inking, blots, or holes in the paper made the text difficult to read. These are, of course, not real alterations. There are 28 such restorations.

II. Correction of obvious printers' errors (turned, transposed, or omitted letters; transposed or doubled words; errors in spacing or spelling). Modern editors agree with all 38 of these alterations, except for *Tit.* III.i.169, where F *Battleaxe* is altered to *Battelaxe*.

III. Single letter changes which alter the form, but not the word (addition of possessive case for nouns, changes in number for both nouns and verbs, changes in verb forms). Modern editors adopt ten of the 14 alterations in this class. The exceptions are:

<i>Tit.</i> III.i.239	Thy griefes,	Thy griefe's,	Thy griefs [CW] Thy grief [Ard.AL.K] Thy grief, [S]
<i>Romeo</i> III.i.176	entertained	entertain'd	entertained [SW] entertain'd [Al.CK]
<i>Romeo</i> III.i.181	Montague	Montagues	Montague
<i>Romeo</i> V.iii.135	feares comes	feares come	fear comes

IV. Changes in pronouns (person or case). Modern editors follow five of the seven alterations in this class, and a sixth, *ye desire* for F *we desire* (*Tit.*, II.iii.131) appears in all except Al., who follows F. The remaining exception is:

<i>Romeo</i> IV.iii.58	my Rapiers point	his Rapiers point	a rapier's point
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V. Insertions or deletions of a word or words. Three of the seven alterations appear in modern editions, and a fourth is accepted in principle. In *Oth.* V.ii.236, the annotator inserts a stage direction: *Iago hurts Æmi. & / Exits*; all modern editors supply such a direction, variously worded. The following alterations do not appear in modern editions:

<i>Romeo</i> II.IV.222	R. is for the no	R. is for, no	R is for the—no
<i>Romeo</i> III.ii.47	of Cockatrice	oth Cockatrice	of cockatrice
<i>Wint.</i> I.ii.412	appointed him to	appointed to	appointed him to

⁶ Modern editions consulted are indicated by the following abbreviations: *Al.* Alexander (New York, 1952); *Ard.* New Arden *Macb.*, *Oth.*, *Tit.*; *C* Cambridge edition, ed. Clark and Wright (London, 1894); *K* Kittredge (Boston, 1936); *S* Sisson (New York, 1953); *W* New Cambridge editions of *Cor.*, *Macb.*, *Romeo*, *Tim.*, *Tit.*, *Wint.*, *Oth.* Line numbers are cited from the Kittredge edition.

VI. Spelling changes which alter a word. Modern editors adopt only one of the six alterations, but in another case they agree in principle when they read *elflocks* for F *Elklocks* in *Romeo* I.iv.90, where the annotator has *Elveslocks*. These suggestions do not appear in modern editions:

<i>Cor.</i> I.ix.51	little	title	little
<i>Tit.</i> III.ii.39	complaynet [H] complayne, [var.]	complaynt	complainer
<i>Tim.</i> v.i.136	catherizing	cankerizing	cauterizing
<i>Macb.</i> III.iv.75	olden	older	olden

VII. Of a final miscellaneous grouping of six alterations, modern editors adopt only the correction of the obvious error in speech tag in *Romeo* II.vi.24. The alterations not found in modern editions are:

<i>Cor.</i> I.i.130	you'st	you shall	you'st
<i>Tit.</i> IV.i.89	Feere	Sire	feare [variously spelled]
<i>Romeo</i> I.ii.103	And she shew scant shell, well	And she'll shew scant so well	And she shall scant show well
<i>Tim.</i> III.iii.20	So it	So I	So it
<i>Tim.</i> III.v.63	Why say	I say	Why say [S] I say [C] Why, I say, [AL.KW]

Thus, of the 106 alterations, modern editors universally adopt 85, agree with the annotator in two more cases where they use a slightly different form of word or different phrasing of stage direction, are divided in opinion on four readings, retain the folio reading in nine cases, and agree in six instances that emendation is necessary but concur on a reading neither that of folio nor of annotator. In none of these latter fifteen instances can any convincing argument be made for the annotator's reading. It is therefore clear that, although the Honeyman Folio is a very interesting exemplar, its seventeenth-century owner can contribute nothing to the modern textual scholar.

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Washington Irving's "Life of Capt. James Lawrence"

One of the rarest books in the Washington Irving canon is *Biography of James Lawrence, Esq.* . . . , New-Brunswick [New Jersey], 1813, described in

Washington Irving, a Bibliography . . ., by William R. Langfeld and Philip C. Blackburn, New York, 1933, p. 14; and also described elsewhere, including the several editions of *Merle Johnson's American First Editions*. The following note, extracted from *Bibliography of American Literature*,¹ indicates that the New Brunswick rarity may be removed from the list of Washington Irving first editions.

Irving's biographical sketch of Lawrence was first published in *The Analectic Magazine* (Philadelphia), Aug. 1813, pp. [122]-139. With slight (and almost wholly inconsequential) editorial revisions it was republished in the following publications:

An Account of the Funeral Honours Bestowed on the Remains of Capt. Lawrence and Lieut. Ludlow, with the Eulogy Pronounced at Salem, on the Occasion, by Hon. Joseph Story . . ., Boston: Printed by Joshua Belcher, 1813.

Pp. [1]-64. $8\frac{7}{16} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ " (a trimmed example thus). Presumably issued without wrapper or other binding. Irving's biographical sketch is credited to *Mr. Irvine*, pp. 17-32; the footnotes, save those credited to *Mr. Irvine*, by the editor.

Publication: According to notices in the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, the Aug. 1813 issue of *Analectic* was available in Boston not later than 24 Aug. 1813. The following notes refer to the Belcher pamphlet: Title-page deposited for copyright (according to the copyright notice) 28 Aug. 1813. Advertised for "this day at 12 o'clock" in *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 3 Sept. 1813; advertisement repeated, *ibid.*, 6 Sept. 1813. Advertised in the *Salem (Mass.) Gazette*, 7 Sept. 1813, as for sale by J. Dabney at his Salem Bookstore.

Biography of James Lawrence, Esq. Late a Captain in the Navy of the United States . . ., New-Brunswick: Printed and Published by L. Deare, at Washington's Head, 1813.

Pp. [1]-244. $5\frac{3}{8} \times 3\frac{7}{16}$ " (a trimmed example thus). Issued in printed paper boards. Irving's biographical sketch, pp. [9]-55, credited to *Analectic Magazine*, with Irving identified as editor of the magazine. Footnotes on pp. 32 and 50 by Irving; other footnotes by the editor.

Publication: Certainly after 17 Sept. 1813; see p. 143, *es.*, where is printed an extract from the *New-York Evening Post* of that date. Title-page (according to copyright notice) deposited 28 Sept. 1813, precisely one month after deposit of Belcher's title-page and approximately three weeks after publication of the Boston edition.

¹ *Bibliography of American Literature*, compiled by Jacob Blanck for the Bibliographical Society of America, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955—.

Note: Langfeld and Blackburn err (p. 14) in stating that the New Brunswick edition contains Irving's emendatory note "reprinted from the *Analectic Magazine* of Sept. 1813." The note referred to (New Brunswick edition, pp. 56-57) was written by the editor, and although quite similar in content to Irving's, it is not his. Under the title "Captain James Lawrence" the sketch, including Irving's note (*Analectic*, Sept. 1813) was collected in *Spanish Papers and Other Miscellanies* . . . , edited by Pierre M. Irving, New York, 1866, II, [37]-59.

JACOB BLANCK

Editor, *Bibliography of American Literature*

News and Notes

Preliminary steps towards a permanently organized Bodoni Museum have been taken in Parma, Italy, where the Italian typographer, a native of Piedmont, lived and worked for forty-five years. In the Archivio di Stato and in the Biblioteca Palatina, Parma, are unnumbered productions from Bodoni's official and private presses. In addition, the Palatina retains Bodoni's correspondence and the equipment used by his type foundry between about 1770 and 1843. For various reasons, these papers and materials have remained for more than a century almost unavailable and little appreciated. The present revival of interest is largely owing to the work of a visiting American Fulbright scholar, Dr. Robert F. Lane, who published an article on Bodoni in these *Papers* earlier this year. The quantity and quality of Bodoni's foundry will prove surprising to those who have followed the usual leads in typographic literature. Bodoni's printing is also far more extensive than any extant list suggests.

The organizing committee has already issued two publications: *Museo Bodoniano: Convegno e mostra bodoniana*, 1958, and *Museo Bodoniano: Primi risultati e sviluppi*, 1959. The first is an item-by-item listing of the Bodoni exhibition arranged in the Sala Petitot of the Biblioteca Palatina in October, 1958, and includes a number of unusual type specimens known and used by Bodoni. The second reports the progress of the organizing committee. So far, of a goal of 20,000,000 lire, 9,000,000 have been contributed. A committee of honor has been formed which includes President Gronchi, and His Eminence, Cardinal Gregorio Pietro XV Agagianian.

Visitors to Europe interested in the history of the book or graphic arts will soon find hospitable Parma, with its Museo Bodoniano, an essential stop on their itineraries. Plans are projected to make the Museo a center for study and research, and to issue publications. One of these has already appeared: Luigi Servolini, *Autobiografia di G. B. Bodoni*, 1958, reviewed in this issue. The Biblioteca Palatina is extraordinarily rich in typographic works prior to 1860, and has recovered from the disastrous bombardment of 1944.



The BSA was well represented in the program of "Research Opportunities in American Cultural History," held at Washington University, St. Louis, on 23 and 24 October, under a grant from The Lilly Endowment, Inc. Twelve papers were presented and included Lester J. Cappon's on "Colonial Cultural History," John Francis McDermott's on "The French in America," Howard H. Peckham's on "The Indian," and David Kaser's on "The Book Trade and

Publishing History." It is planned that all the papers of the Conference will be published and, covering as they do so many aspects of the cultural history of America, they should be welcomed in many quarters. At this writing it is not possible to assess the results of another meeting, the 45th Annual Conference of Eastern College Librarians to be held at Columbia University, 28 November, but the theme of the conference, "Where Shall the Academic Library Find Its Leadership?" is a singularly provocative topic.



The brief letters which we see from time to time in *The New York Times Book Review*, the *Herald Tribune Book Review*, the *Times Literary Supplement* and other periodicals asking for letters, manuscripts, or reminiscences on a specific person or subject are usually inserted by an author who wishes to stake a claim. Do they, however, also result in the discovery of hitherto unknown material? To the average reader this would seem to be the main intent of the letters and it is difficult to believe that some good results in this direction are not obtained. This department would be particularly interested in hearing from any scholars who have had unusually good results in locating material through a published request, particularly from the few whose requests we have been able to publish in these pages.



The Providence meeting of the BSA held on 10 October at the John Carter Brown Library was the first to be held there since the joint meeting of the BSA and the American Historical Association on 30 Dec. 1936 at which time Dr. Lawrence C. Wroth gave his memorable paper, "The Bibliographical Way." Members and guests who arrived on Friday, 9 October, were invited by The Friends of The Brown University Library to hear Mr. John Carter speak on Thomas J. Wise and to view an exhibition of the works of William Morris, loaned by Mr. John M. Crawford, Jr. At the BSA meeting a panel consisting of Clifton Waller Barrett, Jacob Blanck, Clifford K. Shipton, Richard S. Wormser, and Louis B. Wright, with Ben Grauer as Chairman, discussed "Bibliography Today: Where do we Stand?" Definitions, the question of whether or not a bibliographer should annotate, the training of bibliographers, "information retrieval," and bibliographies which need to be compiled or revised all came in for lively discussion. The Annual Meeting of the BSA will be held on 22 Jan. 1960, at The Grolier Club with A. N. L. Munby, Fellow and Librarian of King's College, Cambridge, as principal speaker.

Book Reviews

BRIGHAM, CLARENCE S. *Fifty Years of Collecting Americana for the Library of The American Antiquarian Society, 1908-1958*. Worcester, Mass., 1958. [6], 185 pp. Front., plates. 1,000 copies for presentation only to Friends of the American Antiquarian Society.

This book serves as an excellent index to the very special collections of the American Antiquarian Society. Here may be found a short sketch of the last half century's development of many unusual resources, giving a fine idea of their scope and extraordinary depth. Mr. Brigham, Director of the Society, tells of the donors of specialized material and of their devoted and continued interest. He gives a conscientious account of the detailed printed descriptions of each special collection, usually published by the Society, and places these check-lists against a framework of the more universal bibliographies in the field. Frequently the Society's collections constitute the most comprehensive body available in the relatively small area defined by the collecting policy.

It is fairly common knowledge that the Antiquarian Society has the largest collection of early American newspapers (1,496 titles before 1820) and of United States almanacs (16,720 issues), but comparatively few individuals know of their collections of booksellers' labels (1,700), copy-book covers (for their woodcut ornaments), menus (2,500), valentines (about 3,200), watch papers (366), and what is the largest institutional collection of American water-marks on early paper (800).

Although many of these special collections represent excursions into uncommon by-ways of knowledge, it is appropriate that some institution provide the bibliographic and custodial care necessary to preserve such Americana. If there is need for comprehensive collections of such rarissima rather than the kind of sample collections provided by museums, then surely it is appropriate for the privately endowed library such as the Antiquarian Society to make such available to the public which provides more and more frequently the qualified and dedicated user. For example, the Society's collection of valentines has been studied more than any other of their minor collections.

Mr. Brigham studiously avoids taking credit for the enormous but directed increase in the development of the collections by gift and purchase this last fifty years. However, his enthusiasm shows through a deliberately didactic style. If he were not so modest, there might have been rousing yarns of acquisition appealingly told in the manner of Charles Goodspeed and Charles Everitt, or even some boasting like that of that nineteenth-century entrepre-

neur, Henry Stevens of Vermont. Surely this twentieth-century successor to the mantle of Isaiah Thomas could have spun some dramatic tales to make another minor classic in the fascinating literature of collecting.

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GASKELL, PHILIP. *John Baskerville: A Bibliography*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1959. xxiv, 72 pp. \$11.00.

This is the first professional study of Baskerville's press, originally intended to accompany a biography by Mr. John Dreyfus, but now issued as a separate bibliography. It is published just a year after the bicentenary of Baskerville's appointment as Printer to Cambridge University, appears in a typography appropriate to the occasion, and carries with it the authority of a scholar eminently qualified to deal with the materials and techniques of printing in the eighteenth century. The arrangement here differs somewhat from the Straus and Dent survey of 1907, all of Baskerville's specimens and proposals being described together in the first section, his books in the second, and other printings from Baskerville type in an Appendix. The first category includes seventeen issues, among them eight not previously recognized or differentiated, seven now known only by single copies, and one (item xiv) still unobserved but presumed from other evidence. The second group comprises fifty-six books, a number discounting five presumptive ghosts in Straus and Dent, but incorporating (as item 40) a publication known only by a newspaper advertisement. The Appendix notes seven additional books printed before 1775, two at the Oxford University Press, five by Robert Martin. To guide the reader through the many analyses of font and layout, the compiler has provided at the end a full-scale reproduction of the 1777 type-specimen and throughout in his text numerous other cuts and facsimiles.

Apart from a meticulous examination of Baskerville's work, Dr. Gaskell is to be commended for his lucid presentation of highly complicated evidence. His success in simplifying the most abstruse matter is best exemplified in the quarto *Horace* (39), a book requiring some eighty lines when first described in his "Prolegomena" (*Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* III [1951], 291-93) but only twenty-eight in the final version. Doubtless every other entry has been similarly refined, for each now appears completely free of irrelevant detail. Also discarded, unfortunately, is a considerable amount of exposition, admittedly not at all required for self-evident determinations, but still of some advantage in the account of certain debatable points. When as in the Specimen

of Milton (vii) the title exhibits two variables, why select only the first as illustrating the proper order of states? If ordered by the second, the resulting sequence (c, d, a, b) still allows a progression in the first, albeit contrary to the one assigned. Again, in the 1758 edition of Milton (4, 5), why enter the "Life" among the preliminaries of *Paradise Regained*? Though cited as ordinarily in this second volume, it appears, as one might expect, in the first of the set I have examined, and again in the first of the 1759 edition.

The Milton editions also reflect some inconsistencies in the simplified notation. Superficially the mispagination of no. 5 is, as represented, "—163 164-6 166—"; but since the error, like another in the same book, occurs with a new signature, it is perhaps more accurately expressed as "—163 164-5 165 166—." In nos. 5, 6, and 10 the "Life," though paged, is indicated only by signatures. In 7 the text is described, by a confusion of signature and page, as "A2-90." This text, beginning on p. 5, might have allowed for the earlier pages an escape from the awkward reference "A1, A1^v, χ1-χ1^v" to the easy assumption [1-4]. The inference is made, but not designated in brackets, in no. 11, pages 1-2, 12, and 16.

On several other points where the bibliographer is noncommittal the reviewer may be indulged a few speculations. The reissue of Barclay's *Apology*, 1765 (no. 30), with the Phillips & Fardon imprint was prepared, I suspect, not before 1799, when the act of 39 George III, cap. 79, prescribed the use of printers' colophons. Various numbers of the 1769 Bible (35) containing press figures (a feature not otherwise observed in Baskerville's printing) may perhaps have been farmed out to a shop habitually employing these devices. Certain leaves identified as cancellanda (Y2 in 1, Z3 in 15, 2A1 in 39), yet textually identical with cancellantia, are possibly themselves in corrected state, so perfected at press, and therefore dissimilar to the leaves deleted from copies earlier impressed.

With these trivial exceptions the bibliography is beyond all cavil, a delight to behold, a joy to read, a faithful account of its subject, and an instructive model for other practitioners in the field. Few books of any kind can meet all these criteria.

WILLIAM B. TODD

University of Texas

HAMILTON, SINCLAIR. *Early American Book Illustrators and Wood Engravers, 1670-1870*. A Catalogue of a Collection of American Books Illustrated for the most part with Woodcuts and Wood Engravings in the Princeton University Library. With an Introductory Sketch of the Development of Early

American Book Illustration by Sinclair Hamilton. With a Foreword by Frank Weitenkamp. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Library, 1958. xlviii, 265 pp., 127 illus., indexes, cloth, edition of 600 copies. \$15.00.

When in 1945, Mr. Sinclair Hamilton deposited a typescript of his "collection of early American illustrated books presented to Princeton University" in The New York Public Library, among other and similar institutions, all of us engaged in the subject took a deep breath and relaxed somewhat. The first step to a long-cherished pioneer work had been taken. What was to follow was to enlist the interest of more and more people in the project and, finally, to see the catalogue of the collection in printed form.

True, there are forerunners and contemporaries of like intention, yet unlike proportion: Rosalie V. Halsie's *Forgotten Books of the American Nursery*, handsomely printed by D. B. Updike of Boston's Merrymount Press in 1911, speaks both of illustration and content; Frank Weitenkamp's *American Graphic Art* appeared in 1912 with nothing but Linton and Stauffer to lean upon and immediately became the dean of books on the subject; A. S. W. Rosenbach's inimitable *Early American Children's Books*, printed by Fred Anthoensen in 1933, showed a development of illustration which astounded the bibliophile world; in 1945, Lawrence C. Wroth and Marion W. Adams of the John Carter Brown Library in Providence prepared an exhibition of *American Woodcuts and Engravings, 1670-1800*, which was published the following year in pamphlet form, documented and annotated, for the Associates of the library; in 1950, Una Johnson, the Brooklyn Museum's Curator of Prints, arranged an exhibition of *American Woodcuts, 1670-1950*, commemorated in a fully illustrated and descriptive catalogue. One wonders whether Mr. Sinclair Hamilton, collector for years, went to these shows: comparing, chuckling, groaning! His finished work is a monument to knowledge and patience.

With the exception, and doubtful at that, of a *memento mori* cut at the top of a broadside commemorating the burial on 27 Jan. 1667 of the "virtuous and religious Lydia Minot"—the cut is considered to be of a later date than the event—American woodcutting and engraving begins with the portrait of Richard Mather attributed to John Foster, our first engraver and the first Boston printer. Mr. Hamilton agrees with one and all: Weitenkamp, Rosenbach, Wroth, and Johnson. In 26 fact-filled pages he gives us a concise survey of the history and development of American illustration as exemplified by his collection of more than 1,300 items, now the proud possession of Princeton University. American illustration, a minor art to be true, had never before been adequately explored in its relationship to the illustrator and the designer, as distinguished from the engraver or craftsman. Yet, Mr. Hamilton states, "this

development, even in its crude beginnings, is part of the cultural development of this country and hence not without significance." As he proceeds to describe the titles and their makers, the reader is made aware that there eventually emerged a liberation from foreign, mostly English, influences and that there was born, slowly but surely, an American school of illustration. In about 1870, the London *Saturday Review* could write: "The impartial critic who is asked where the best woodcuts are produced has, we fear, but one answer possible: neither in England, Germany nor France, but in America. . . ."

The *catalogue raisonné* follows. It lists, describes, and annotates the thirteen hundred items of the collection from the 1670 portrait of Richard Mather to the somewhat flamboyant wood-engraved illustrations of the eighteen seventies. For reasons of identification and attribution, or the lack of it, the seventeenth and eighteenth century illustrated books (Nos. 1-192) have been listed chronologically, while the titles after the year 1800 (Nos. 193-1302) are arranged alphabetically by designer or engraver with the inevitable difficulty, surely, of being able to distinguish between the two. The entries are short-title entries with pertinent description of the illustrations, their medium, their number. References are given. There are often additional annotations pertaining to relationship with other cuts, to the binding of the copy, to its previous ownership. But, above all, there is a short biography of each artist. Part One reads like the history of colonial and revolutionary America: its publishing and reading facilities and habits; its advance in the field of typography and illustration; its very history and challenge of independence. Part Two, alphabetically arranged by artist "reads" less well, of course, but contains invaluable information for research and consultation. Joseph Alexander Adams (1803-1880) with fourteen entries ranging from *A School Copy Book Printed By Mahlon Day When He Was at 376 Pearl Street, New York, i.e., Between 1825 and 1833* to a *Memorial of Alexander Anderson, M.D.*, New York, 1872, is followed by Alfred T. Agate (1812-1846) with two entries of books on antarctic explorations, and by James Akin (1773-1846) with three entries for children, including *False Alarms; or, The Mischievous Doctrine of Ghosts and Apparitions, of Spectres and Hobgoblins, Exploded*, Philadelphia, 1802. And so to the last gentleman in the alphabet: John T. Young (1814-1842) who supplied nineteen designs for *Sketches of Rochester*, 1838, of which some were engraved upon wood by the ubiquitous and irrepressible doctor from New Jersey, Alexander Anderson. In between lie the biographies and the work of 184 designers and engravers which include such great names as Alexander Anderson (192), John G. Chapman (19), F. O. C. Darley (149), Winslow Homer (27), Augustus Hoppin (52), and Thomas Nast (53).

But "in between" lies much of America also. We can trace life in its many aspects: the land, the family, the farm, the school, the nursery. We follow the American in his first travel and exploration of the West in the wake of the opening of the land beyond the Rockies; we cross the ocean, eastward, with him and to Europe and the East in what is perhaps the first American traveling guides. At home, we see him read best sellers and novels, fashion, and sports, as well as the first American illustrated Bible, the Harper Bible. Thus the Sinclair Hamilton Collection and its catalogue is more than a development of the art of illustration. Does it not also contain rare first editions for the collector? There is an *Uncle Tom*, *The Autocrat at the Breakfast Table*, and a *Tom Sawyer*. However, these factors are coincidental to Mr. Hamilton's basic intention: to prove that "due in large measure to the illustrators we have been discussing, the complaint was finally silenced that good book illustration was to be found only in Europe. Gradually our publishers ceased to rely on feeble copies of foreign pictures. The American illustrator had thrown off his foreign leading strings and was doing work that was genuinely American in feeling and in character." He has proved it, and proved it admirably.

The editors of the Princeton University Press and its printer, Mr. P. J. Conkwright, have proved the quality of American publishing and printing of today. The book before us is a remarkable example of planning and execution. Front matter, text part, catalogue, and the numerous and generous indexes are logically devised and handsomely set. Would that the illustrations to the second part of the catalogue, grouped alphabetically onto sections of several pages, could have been arranged chronologically to prove to the eye a stylistic development rather than unintended contrasts! The bookplate of the Sinclair Hamilton Collection, reproduced both on title page and front cover, was designed by the late Bruce Rogers, America's leading typographical designer. Thank you, Mr. Hamilton, for the monument we now have from Mr. John Foster to Mr. Bruce Rogers!

KARL KUP

The New York Public Library

HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY. *The Kilgour Collection of Russian Literature, 1750-1920; with Notes on Early Books and Manuscripts of the 16th and 17th Centuries*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard College Library, distributed by the Harvard University Press, 1959. 1 v. (unpaged) Plates, facsimis. \$17.50.

Most printed catalogues serve strictly utilitarian ends; only rarely do they rise to the level where aesthetics becomes a factor in their evaluation. To the

latter category belongs *The Kilgour Collection of Russian Literature, 1750-1920*, published in 1959 by the Harvard College Library.

What is the Kilgour Collection? Actually, it is the collection of Russian books, mostly first editions, together with certain manuscripts that are housed in the Houghton Library of Harvard University. It is also the assemblage of books and manuscripts that were acquired by Mr. Bayard Kilgour, Jr., an alumnus of Harvard, on his several trips to Russia in the late 1920's. Mr. Kilgour's major interests at that time were Russian history and literature; it is to the latter that this collection so eloquently testifies.

Substantively speaking, the Kilgour Collection is primarily a collection of the writings of Russian poets, novelists, and thinkers that comprised the belletristic output of Russia from 1750 to 1920. A check of its contents as listed in the catalogue for the nineteenth century, where the main emphasis lies, against several standard histories of Russian literature, demonstrated the sweeping coverage of the Kilgour Collection. Every important nineteenth century writer is represented: Pushkin, Lermontov, Gogol', Turgenev, Tolstoi, Dostoevskii, and Chekhov. While a first edition of every work of these great writers is hardly to be expected, one is constantly amazed as what is actually encompassed. Dostoevskii, for example, is represented by first editions of *Crime and Punishment*, *The Possessed*, *The Idiot*, *The Adolescent*, and *The Brothers Karamazov*. While Turgenev's early novels *Rudin* and *On the Eve* are lacking, his *A Sportsman's Sketches*, *Fathers and Sons*, *Smoke*, and *Virgin Soil* are included.

Of course, the collection is not limited to the great figures of Russian literature. For example, the voluminous production of such lesser writers as Konstantin Bal'mont, the symbolist poet, and Vasilii Rozanov, critic and thinker, is represented by thirty-eight and twenty-six entries respectively. Some of the later writers of note who are solidly represented include Anna Akhmatova, Aleksandr Blok, Ivan Bunin, and Il'ia Ehrenburg. There is really no need to recite further the names of the writers who enliven the pages of this catalogue. Their names are legion; together they add up to a surprisingly complete picture of Russia's literary gallery before the Soviet era.

Monographic works of individual writers constitute the majority of entries in the catalogue, but the inclusion, however fragmentary, of literary journals, numerous collections, and series imparts to the catalogue a certain sense of proportion.

Presentation and format are additional factors which render the facsimile catalogue of the Kilgour Collection noteworthy and praiseworthy. Although the literature discussed above constitutes the bulk, other parts deserve our attention. The first section, for example, is devoted to "Early Books and Manu-

scripts." It has only six entries; two works printed by Ivan Fedorov, the first Russian printer; a first edition of the *Ostrog Bible* in Slavonic; an edition of the *Evangelie* (Gospels); a sixteenth-century manuscript, the *Apostel*; and a copy of the *Paterikon of Solovki Monastery*. Full-page black and white facsimiles of sample pages precede the section. Although losing the original coloring, and possibly size, in reproduction, the facsimiles succeed in depicting the splendid craftsmanship and fine calligraphy of these early works.

The main section of the catalogue, already discussed in terms of coverage, contains about 1,320 numbered entries arranged alphabetically by author and chronologically by title in double columns. On separate lines are provided the title in English translation, imprint, collation, a physical description of the item, and editor's notes. The notes are unusually helpful, as witness this reviewer's delight on reading the statement under Pushkin's *The Fountain of Bakhchisarai* that an English translation of this moving poem had been done by an American, William D. Lewis, and published in Philadelphia in 1849. Such careful references by the editor markedly enhance the value of this volume.

The final portions of the Kilgour catalogue are devoted to 1) literary manuscripts of various kinds from the pens of Blok, Dostoevskii, Gogol', Gor'kii, Lermontov, Pushkin, Turgenev, and others; 2) interesting bookplates, labels, and stamps which may help to identify books from the libraries of the tsarist nobility, prominent individuals, and institutions; and 3) a comprehensive index. The index is well done, although it might have been worthwhile to include title transliterations for all monographic entries.

Thus far nothing has been said about the one feature of this catalogue—the title-page facsimiles accompanying each and every entry—that makes it not only a practical tool but an artistic achievement as well. This method of presentation should be attempted only when the content of a catalogue justifies such treatment. Without question it has in this instance been most appropriately applied. What a delightful and instructive experience it is to read the entry in English while comparing it word for word with a facsimile of the original! Practically speaking, this feature should also help scholars, bibliographers, and librarians in the identification of works in hand.

The thought naturally occurs that it may be worthwhile to encourage the publication of other catalogues of Russian literature along similar lines. The rare books from the Yudin Collection of the Library of Congress and other notable collections of Russian literature in American libraries might suitably lend themselves to description and facsimile reproduction in the manner of the Kilgour catalogue. Surely in this golden age of America there are others besides Mr. Kilgour who, hoping to see a better balance struck between the hu-

manities and the sciences than we are witnessing today, will encourage and support the realization of such undertakings.

THOMAS J. WHITBY

Library of Congress

METZDORF, ROBERT F. *The Tinker Library—A Bibliographical Catalogue of the Books and Manuscripts Collected by Chauncey Brewster Tinker*. New Haven: Yale University Library, 1959. xxvi, 530 pp. \$15.00.

[As a matter of policy, books by members of the editorial staff of the *Papers* will be described briefly but will not be given a critical review.—R.F.M.] Mr. Tinker collected manuscripts and significant editions of those English authors to whom he dedicated his career as teacher and scholar. He acquired primarily material not at Yale. The catalogue “includes more material than a checklist but lacks many of the attributes of a full-length bibliography” and describes the contents of the collection in such a manner as to give a “profile of the collector.” The compiler’s introduction describes his method in some detail. With the exception of a few long runs of related items, each book or manuscript is described in sufficient detail to provide adequate identification for bibliographical purposes. There is an author and title index, and a preface by James T. Babb.—L.S.T.

ST. JOHN, JUDITH. *The Osborne Collection of Early Children’s Books 1566-1910; a Catalogue*. Prepared at Boys and Girls House by Judith St. John. With an Introduction by Edgar Osborne. Toronto, Canada: Toronto Public Library, 1958. xxiv, 561 pp. illus. plates (part col.), facsimis. \$15.00.

DARTON, F. J. HARVEY. *Children’s Books in England; Five Centuries of Social Life*. [Second Edition with an Introduction by Kathleen Lines.] New York: Cambridge University Press, 1958. xviii, 367 pp. \$6.50.

By pleasant coincidence, two books which are indispensable to the study of the history of children’s books in England appeared almost simultaneously in 1958, one a continuous historical narrative, the other a beautifully illustrated, painstakingly edited, and carefully annotated catalogue. The first was a corrected edition of *Children’s Books in England; Five Centuries of Social Life* (1932) by the late F. J. Harvey Darton, the other *The Osborne Collection of Early Children’s Books 1566-1910; a Catalogue*, which lists some 3,000 titles from

the books deposited in 1949 at the Boys and Girls House, Toronto (Ont.) Public Library, by Edgar Osborne of The Spinney, Morley, Derbyshire. Jean Thomson, Head of the Boys and Girls Division, notes in her Preface that "we have chosen to arrange the catalogue to conform with the system of classification that is in use in our children's libraries in Toronto, that is by reading interests of the children." It is not surprising to find that "Stories—before 1850" take up the most space (pp. 229-319), followed by "Stories—1850 and after" (pp. 320-397). In this last section, "and after" is stretched to include E. Nesbit's *Wet Magic* (1913), not one of her best books, and published three years beyond the time limit set on the title-page. E. Nesbit, incidentally, is listed under "Bland, Edith (Nesbit)"—the Darton book more correctly calls her Bland-Tucker—and L. T. Meade is heavily disguised as "Smith, Elizabeth Thomasina (Meade)." Beatrix Potter, however, appears under her own name, though there is a note on her marriage to William Heelis in 1913. The vagaries of cataloguers are always refreshing.

For the record, the other headings are Aesop [one edition is Plantin Press, 1566] and Other Fabulists; Myths and Legendary Heroes; Nursery Stories and Fairy Tales—the entry under Mure, Eleanor, shows that though "Both Joseph Jacobs and F. G. [*sic*] Harvey Darton have attributed the authorship of the story [of *The Three Bears*] to Robert Southey," they were wrong; Poetry, Verses and Rhymes; Nursery Rhymes and Alphabets; Books of Instruction; The Bible and Books of Religious Instruction; Biography and History; Travel and Geography; Natural Science; Games and Pastimes. The last-named notes that Part II, volume I of the second edition of Maria Edgeworth's *The Parent's Assistant* "is previously unrecorded and seems to be the only surviving copy." As Mr. Osborne wrote in his Introduction, "It is with pleasure that I am able to record the existence in Toronto of the first volume . . . stated in Miss Slade's bibliography of the works of Maria Edgeworth to be completely lost . . . [This] was indeed beginners' luck, for it was years before we discovered what a wonderful treasure we possessed. Thus began a partnership in collecting which continues to interest me, and which was of absorbing interest to my wife until her death in 1946." Brief lists of Periodicals and Annuals, Keepsakes and Miscellanies, Penny Dreadfuls, Movable and Toy Books, and Almanacs and Birthday Books are followed by the three "Appendixes": Chronological List of Editions, 1566-1799; List of Illustrators and Engravers; and List of Publishers, Booksellers, and Printers. These are not included in the general Index, which is of "Authors, titles, series, editors, and translators only." A note on H. R. Millar (p. 552) states that "He had illustrated many stories for Mrs. Edith Nesbit Bland, with uncanny accuracy of detail, before they met in 1901." Up to that time, Millar had illustrated *Five*

Children and It, and the stories collected in *The Book of Dragons*, which is not listed in this *Catalogue*. Neither is *The Enchanted Castle*, favorite of many readers, nor *The Phoenix and the Carpet*, nor the masterly historico-magical *The House of Arden* and its sequel, *Harding's Luck*, in which, as the *Times Literary Supplement* has remarked, E. Nesbit's feudal imagination overran her Fabian emotions. *The Wonderful Garden* (1911, and also outside the time limit), which is listed, was serialized in the *Strand Magazine*, though this fact is not noted as it is for *The Magic City* and *Wet Magic*.

"Since 1945, when [F. J. Harvey Darton's] *Children's Books in England* went 'out of print,' the publishers have had sufficient evidence of demand for them to be willing to issue a second edition," writes Miss Kathleen Lines in her "Introduction to the Second Edition." "Several books [have been] written in recent years about various aspects of children's books, whose authors in nearly every case record their indebtedness in great or small degree to Harvey Darton," she continues. "Two such books are histories: *A Critical History of Children's Books* [sic] 1953, by 'four experts in the field of children's literature,' a 600-page book from the U.S.A. [the correct title is *A Critical History of Children's Literature*,¹ and all quotation marks are Miss Lines'] and *English Children's Books* (1934), by Percy Muir, the collector and bibliographer. They are very different from each other in their approach but both quote Darton and list him as an authority, and neither supplants him." The book is reprinted by offset-litho from the first (1932) edition. According to the publishers, Miss Lines "has corrected a few details in the text, most often following Harvey Darton's own notes, or remarks in letters to his publisher; and she has added selected titles to the chapter bibliographies, together with a general list, directing readers to some works published since 1932." This list (pp. 329-34) is divided into "A. General Books. B. A Supplement to the Chapter Bibliographies," and calls Doris Langley Moore's *E. Nesbit* "E. Nesbitt." Text misspellings which have been allowed to stand are "Mrs. Feald" for Field (p. 44); Sarah "Chaumsey" Woolsey for Chauncey (p. 239 and Index); "Joaquim" Miller for Joaquin (p. 245). A mystifying note on p. 257 needs explanation (not given): "For some of the less-known American writers, readers may be able to consult the following works: N. [sic] D.A.B. is not yet complete: . . ." The *Dictionary of American Biography*, which Mr. Darton chose to regard as the *National* [sic] *Dictionary of American Biography* and abbreviated as "N.D.A.B." (see Note on verso of Contents page), was completed in 1936, the year of his death. Since then, two Supplements have been published. "Edward Lear, though included in D.N.B., is not yet very satisfactorily shown to us—except by his own work," Mr. Darton remarked on p. 257. Angus Davidson filled the gap most happily

¹ Reviewed, PBSA 48 (1954), 199-208; 263-67.

in 1938 with his *Edward Lear; Landscape Painter and Nonsense Poet, 1812-1888* (Penguin Books, 1950), but Miss Lines apparently has not discovered his book.

EARLE F. WALBRIDGE

New York University

SCHWANDNER, JOHANN GEORG. *Calligraphy*. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1958. Double front., title-leaf. xiv, 14 pp., 158 unnumbered plates. \$10.00.

Dover continues, in this reprint of J. G. Schwandner's *Calligraphia Latina* (the first since its original publication in Vienna in 1756), its policy of making available at low cost decorative and important writing-manuals, much in demand among collectors, students, and practitioners of calligraphy. Their choice is governed, obviously, by marketability—usually books which are full of calligraphic fun-and-games (“thousands of calligraphic elements that can be used in countless different situations for suggestions of quality and antiquity as well as for sheer beauty,” to quote the jacket blurb), potentially useful to harried and hurried advertising designers and typographers.

Schwandner, an Austrian historian who twenty years after the publication of his luxurious folio writing-book became Chief of the Imperial Library in Vienna, contributed to it mainly, one suspects, the conventional and high-flown Latin history and eulogy of writing, well translated by E. F. Bleiler, which stands as introduction. The plates, remarkable both for the skill of the lettering and the baroque pen decoration, were the work of Ferdinand von Freisleben, who drew them, and J. Kaspar Schwab, who cut them. They show a number of cursive and roman capital alphabets surrounded by intricate and dazzling calligraphic cartouches; a set of large single plates dedicated to the ruling European sovereigns, demonstrating the use of the ornamented capitals and decorated with samples of Freisleben's flourishing; and a set of blank cartouches in whose surrounding ornamentation the calligrapher and engraver give their fancy and skill the fullest play, with calligraphic birds, beasts, and cherubs galore.

The book is well printed by offset lithography and serviceably bound; the brilliance of the original, ascribable to the heavy paper and the fine presswork, is naturally slightly dulled. It is regrettable, however, that there should be no indication in a facsimile edition of the amount of reduction: all the plates have been slightly reduced except those dedicated to the monarchs which, in the original, were double-page spreads.

JAMES M. WELLS

The Newberry Library

SERVOLINI, LUIGI. *Autobiografia di Bodoni*. Parma: Comune di Parma, 1958. xxii, 363 pp. L1,500 (\$2.42).

This compilation consists of four undated and 206 dated letters written by the great Italian typographer Giambattista Bodoni (1740-1813) of Parma, to his friend, engraver, and agent, Francesco Rosaspina (1762-1841) of Bologna during the period 15 Oct. 1791 and 11 Jan. 1809; and of sixteen letters written by Bodoni's wife and widow, Margherita Dall'Aglia (1758-1841) to Rosaspina between 23 Oct. 1792 and 22 Feb. 1830. Only letters in the Biblioteca Comunale, Forlì, are found here.

The principal merit of this publication rests in the printing of the largest single group of Bodoni's correspondence ever issued. None of Rosaspina's replies have been included, some of Margherita's letters are far from pertinent, and those seen here contribute little to our knowledge of that valiant lady.

Unhappily, Signor Servolini seems to have demonstrated his unfamiliarity both with the Bodoni story and the Bodoni bibliography. The early portions of this book are padded with a sketchy gloss derived from De Lama's biography of 1816-1817, and there is a list of 567 Stamperia Reale and Bodoni items, of which 207 have been taken from Giampiero Giani, *Catalogo delle autentiche edizioni bodoniane*, Milano, 1948, a work of mixed merit.

Signor Servolini is the author of the article on Francesco Rosaspina in *Thieme-Becker* xxix (1935), 5, which carries a detailed bibliography of that artist, ranging from 1830 to 1928. Here two pages have been granted Rosaspina, but there is no list of the Rosaspina engravings executed at Bodoni's order. Only one footnote occurs, found on page 271. The close business and personal relationships between Bodoni and Rosaspina must be found in the letters themselves. All this is not easy to accept, since the type matter stood in galleys for three years.

The many personalities which always swim past in Bodoni's letters, add their usual mysteries to this correspondence. The editor has made an attempt to deal with these by adding an "Indici di Nomi," with 281 entries. His efforts to identify these persons are not always accurate nor helpful. Thus an "ufficiale postale di Parma," is actually related to Bodoni's wife Margherita, and describing a priest as "monsignor, letterato," or simply "abate," is of little use. These individuals were of great importance, not alone to Bodoni, but to us, who now so little understand the vitality of the social and intellectual world in which he was a central figure.

To those who read Italian, these letters give many new lights on the personality and work of Bodoni for a limited period. Thus Bodoni was occasionally deceived, and he once found himself financing, through a loan, a diplomat's

love-tryst in Bologna. There are sidelights on Bodoni's dealings with Cardinal Corneille-François De Nelis (1736-1798), last Bishop of Antwerp.¹ Only a part of the political and ecclesiastical difficulties it was necessary to overcome in order to gain access to the celebrated frescoes of Correggio in the Camera di S. Paolo, Parma, are touched upon, but the making of the plates for the subsequent book, *Pitture di Antonio Allegri . . . 1800* (De Lama II, 139)² are detailed, including changes of mind.

ROBERT FREDERICK LANE

Roslyn, N. Y.

WROTH, LAWRENCE C. *Abel Buell of Connecticut: Silversmith, Type Founder & Engraver*. Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1958. xiv, 102 pp. 9 pp. of illus. \$5.00.

This pioneer study of Buell's life and work, issued by the Acorn Club of Connecticut in an edition of 102 copies, first appeared thirty-three years ago. Now revised and enlarged, it is published by a university press—a circumstance which indicates the present vitality of interest in American bibliographical studies. Such invigoration is due in a large measure to the long series of distinguished and inspiring contributions to the field by Dr. Wroth.

We must assume that no picture of Buell exists, for there is none in this book. This is regrettable, for one would like to see the face of this example of the colonial craftsman and picaresque adventurer. During a period when men led versatile lives, Abel Buell, of Killingworth, Connecticut, was, from time to time, silversmith, engraver, engineer, die cutter, armorer, inventor, auctioneer, and cotton manufacturer. Once he became a member of a privateering firm; at another time he owned a line of packet boats that plied between New Haven and New London. Once in jail for altering currency, twenty years later he became a stockholder and mint master in a Company for Coining Coppers. A man of equivocal reputation, he was still a genuine artist, and America's first type founder.

In his second edition Dr. Wroth skilfully inserts new information on Buell's complex activities, corrects minor errors, and revises some of his earlier conclusions. In the biographical chapter, he verifies the tradition that Buell fled to Florida in 1774 and supplies new data concerning the origin of Mrs. Mary Buell, "the first of his four successive wives." In addition, some passages are rewritten. In a discussion of Buell as jeweler and silversmith, the author gives in full Buell's self-congratulatory advertisement of his lapidary machine which states in part: "He hath discover'd the true method of grinding and polishing

chrystals and other stones of value, viz. Rubies, Garnets, Topaz, Amethysts, white and brown Chrystals, &c. (with which the American Colonies abound).” Also new is the inventory of his jewelry shop in 1775, including “. . . 1 Case of Tooth Instruments, . . . 2 Fountain pens, . . . 11 pr Pibble Sleeve Buttons.”

The student of American printing will find the most rewarding new passages in the chapter entitled “The First Connecticut Engraver,” wherein each of Buell’s known engravings is re-examined with care and affection. And it is to Buell’s most ambitious work, his “Map of the United States,” 1784, that Dr. Wroth’s unsurpassed knowledge of American cartography brings greatest clarification. Devoting four pages to a study of its sources, he shows that it was not only the Mitchell map which provided information, but also that the map of Thomas Hutchins, 1778, provided “much of the detail recorded in the trans-Alleghany area.” Furthermore, it is suggested that Buell and Hutchins may have met each other when both were in Pensacola in 1775 and 1776. Lest it be overlooked, attention should be directed to the continuation of the Wroth-Brigham debate in one of the footnotes to this chapter. Whether Abel Buell participated in engraving the Florida charts for Bernard Romans or whether Paul Revere engraved all of them has been the discussion. In footnote 68 one of America’s greatest bibliographers comments on the opinions of his peer in a style as eloquent as it is graceful.

Buell’s work as type founder was so thoroughly investigated for the first edition that comparatively little has been added in the second. However, in the selection of items for illustration, the Yale University copy of Buell’s memorial to the Connecticut Assembly was chosen rather than the Connecticut Archives copy which was used in the first edition. A comparison of these two texts reveals that some words were corrected in the Connecticut Archives copy. Therefore the Yale copy may well be an uncorrected proof. The other new illustrations comprise specimens of Buell’s work as silversmith and die cutter, a diploma engraved for Yale College, and *The Sequel of Arts and Sciences*, a writing sheet jointly published by Buell and Rivington.

During the last thirty-three years, many scholars have searched for additional information about America’s first type founder. It is, therefore, probable that most of the results are in. This attractive volume, then, will suffice for a good many years.

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ZAUNMÜLLER, WOLFRAM. *Bibliographisches Handbuch der Sprachwörterbücher, Ein internationales Verzeichnis von 5600 Wörterbüchern der Jahre 1460-1958 für mehr als 500 Sprachen und Dialekte. A Critical Bibliography of Language Dictionaries*. New York: Hafner Publishing Company; Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann Verlag, 1958. xvi pp., 495 cols. 11 x 8 inches. \$12.00.

The making of bibliographies of dictionaries reaches back two centuries and more, and would make an interesting subject for a special study in bibliographical history. Such a study might begin with Zaunmüller's predecessors as cited in Theodore Besterman, *A World Bibliography of Bibliographies* (3d ed., Geneva, 1955). J. B. Durey de Noinville's worthless *Table alphabétique des dictionnaires* (1758), escaped Zaunmüller's notice but is cited by Besterman. Earlier than the *Table* are lists in classified catalogues of public and private libraries, and in subject indexes. Besterman cites other bibliographies not seen by Zaunmüller. William Marsden's *Catalogue of Dictionaries* (1796), which Zaunmüller was unable to consult (p. viii), is supplemented by the catalogue of his library (1827). More pertinent titles might have been found in *An Attempt at a Catalogue of the Library of the Late Prince Louis-Lucien Bonaparte* (London, 1894; Index, Chicago, 1902). Rich as Zaunmüller's account (cols. 47-91) of German dictionaries is, it could have been enlarged by consulting Herman Hirt, *Etymologie der neuhochdeutschen Sprache* (2d ed., Munich, 1921). In brief, the foundations on which this bibliography rests need strengthening.

Zaunmüller offers an alphabetical list of some 500 languages represented by some 5,600 dictionaries which are, in the case of the major languages, listed in various categories. His English subtitle, "A Critical Bibliography of Language Dictionaries," finds its justification in the fact that some items are starred for their importance or are provided with critical annotations. These indications can, as he realizes, be insufficient or even misleading. For example, Lexer's Middle High German dictionary (col. 84) is a supplement and an index to the dictionary by Benecke, Müller, and Zarncke (col. 85). The latter work is far more valuable than Lexer's dictionary because it deals with Middle High German literature and not the later prose writings. Zaunmüller's annotation does not make clear the relationship of these two dictionaries and their relative importance. Although the bibliographical entries have in general been proofread for spelling and punctuation, a regrettably large number of them lack essential details. In col. 3, for example, five entries lack the place of publication and in col. 105, three. More troublesome than this is the omission of details of works published in series. Few will readily find Poppe's Russian monograph on a Mongolian dialect (col. 46) from the information "Leningrad 1930" and would have welcomed these details: "Akademiiâ nauk S.S.S.R. Materialy

Komissii po issledovaniu mongol'skoï i tannatuvinskoï narodnikh respublik 6." The citations of many vocabularies of Finno-Ugric languages ordinarily lack indications of the serials published by the Finnish Academy in which they appeared. Nor are the publications of the English Dialect Society (cols. 111-112) identified. The typographical error of reading "f" as "j" in "Dankesgabe J. A. Leitzmann" (1927) in the reference to a Frisian glossary (col. 152) is confusing, and here, too, the series title, *Jenaer germanistische Forschungen*, "Sonderband," 1, is lacking. Here Zaunmüller has included, as he does again in the reference to Lopatinski's journal article on a Caucasian language (col. 217) and elsewhere, an item which was not separately published. His definition of titles to be included and excluded is not at all clear. Concordances to Euripides (col. 162) and Horace (col. 244) are present, but not J. S. P. Tatlock's concordance to Chaucer (Washington, 1927). Various dictionaries of geographical names are included, but not J. G. T. Grässe, *Orbis latinus* (2d ed., Berlin, 1909) or, as far as I can see, any other dictionary of the Latin forms of European vernacular place names. Furthermore, the classification of titles is at times mystifying. Should a dictionary of German printer's terms be put in the same category with dictionaries of student slang (cols. 63-64)? Or should Spiro's dictionary of Egyptian Arabic (col. 15) fail to be classed with other regional dictionaries of Arabic? Nevertheless, a comparison of the categories of English, French, German, Italian, and Spanish dictionaries is instructive. Only the Germans seem to have made and published dictionaries of profanity (col. 63).

Zaunmüller would have greatly increased the usefulness of this bibliography if he had given more thought to how it would be used. He does not indicate with any regularity the size of the dictionary or its arrangement, whether alphabetical or according to roots or according to subject matter, or whether the compiler has cited examples in literature. The book deserves a place on our reference shelves because it contains a great deal of information and cites many recently published dictionaries that can not be easily found, but it needs systematic and thoroughgoing revision.

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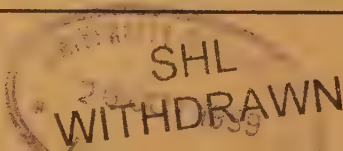
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